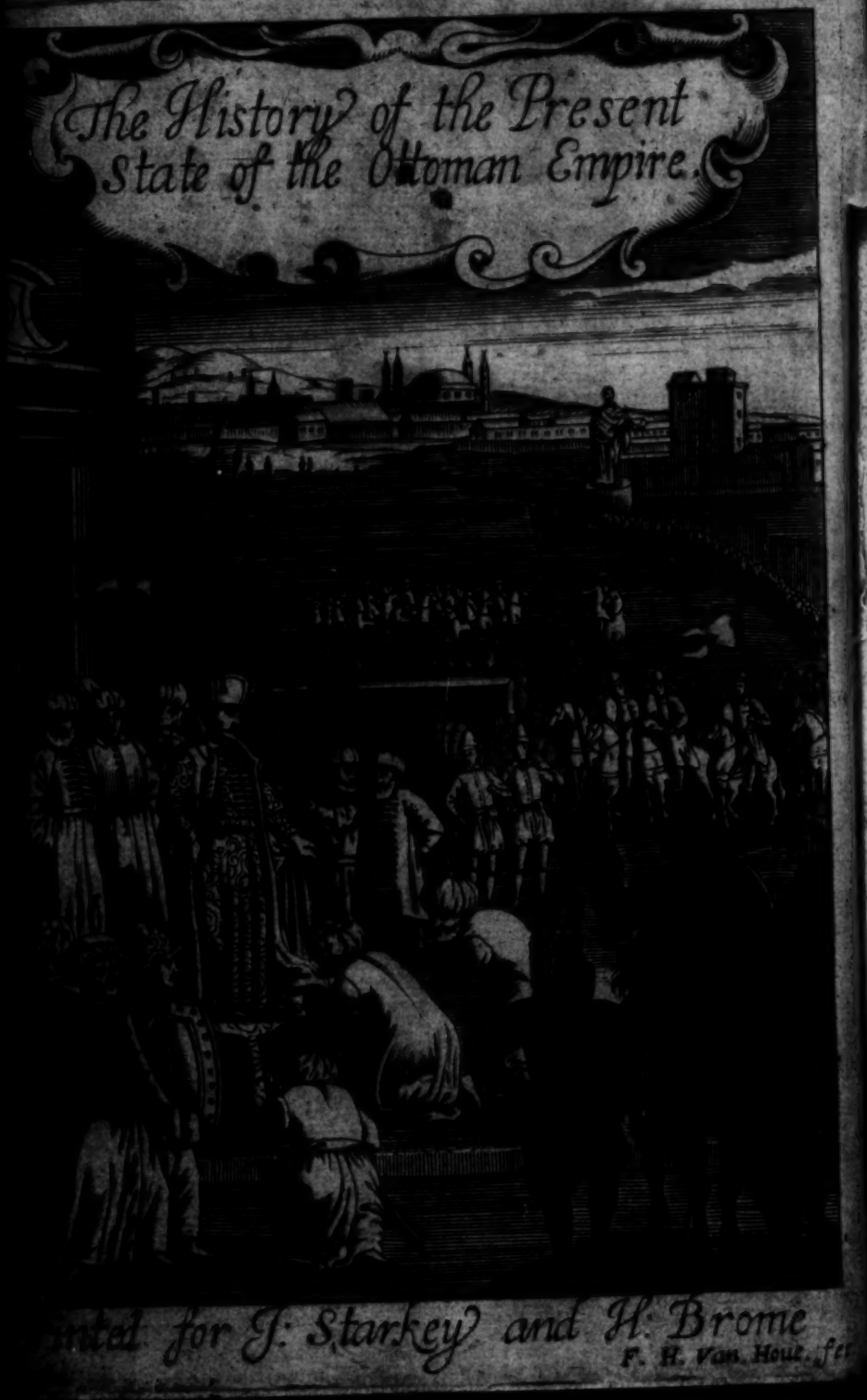
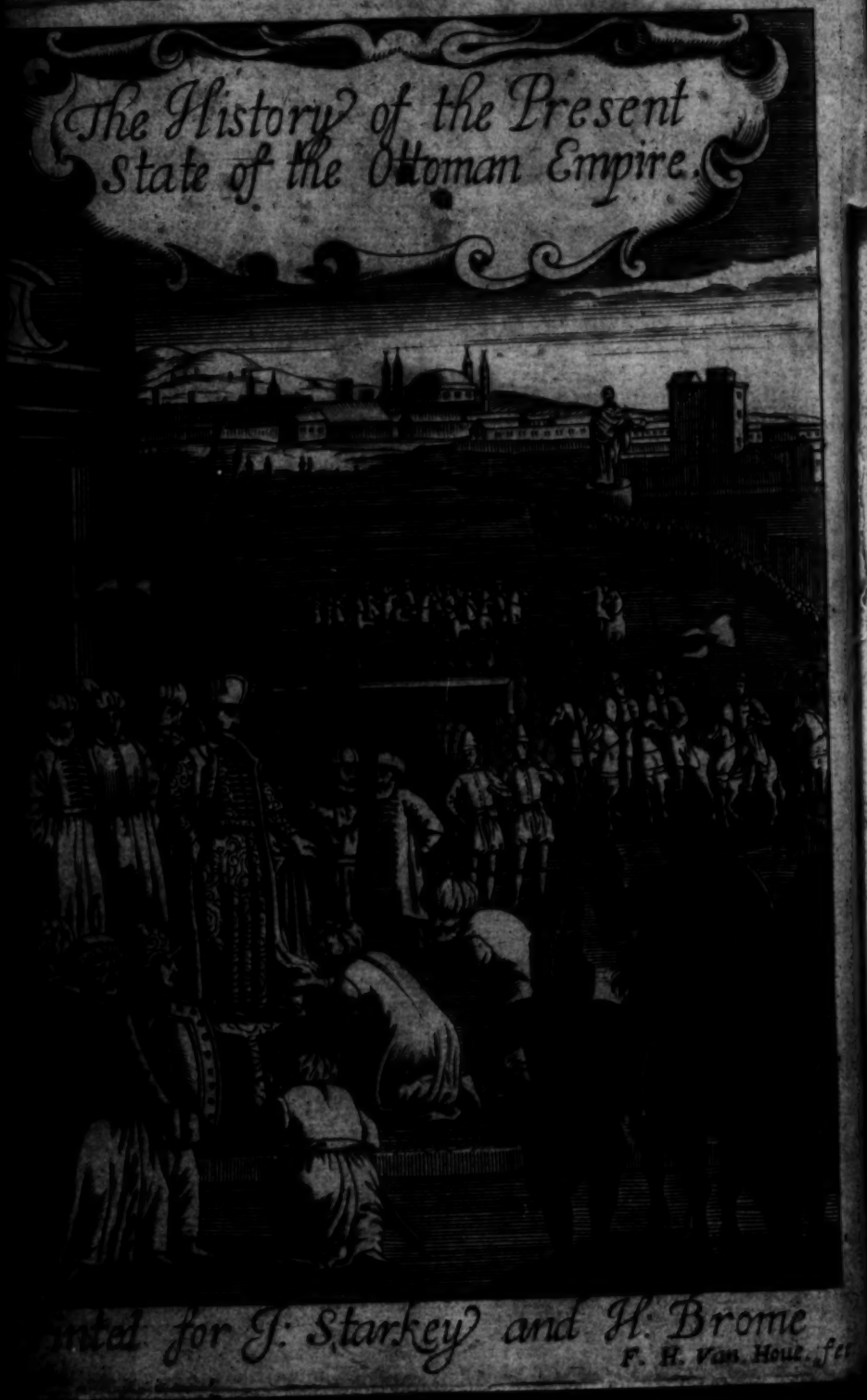

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THE

HISTORY

OF

The Present State

OF THE

Ottoman Empire.

CONTAINING

The MAXIMS of the *Turkish Polity*, the most Material Points of the *Mahometan* Religion, their *Sects* and *Heresies*, their *Convents* and *Religious Votaries*.

Their MILITARY DISCIPLINE, with an Exact Computation of their Forces both by Sea and Land.

Illustrated with divers Pieces of Sculpture representing the variety of Habits amongst the Turks.

In Three BOOKS.

By Sir *PAUL RICAUT*, late Consul of *Smyrna* and Fellow of the *Royal Society*.

The Fifth Edition Corrected.

LONDON,
Printed for *Charles Brome*, at the Gun at the West End of St. *Paul's* Church-Yard. 1686.

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To the Right Honourable

HENRY

Lord Arlington

His *Majeſty*'s Principal Secretary of State.

My Lord,

AFTER five years reſidence at *Conſtantinople*, in ſervice of the Embaſſie of the Earl of *Winchelſea* (my ever honoured Lord) and this my ſecond Journey from thence by Land into my own Countrey, I judged it a point of my Duty, and of my Religion too, to dedicate this following Treatiſe, as the fruits of my Travels, Ne-

gotiations and leiſure in thoſe remote Parts, to the Noble Perſon of your Lordſhip; as that *Votiva Tabula*, which many both in ancient and in the modern times, after ſome ſignal deliverance, or happy arrival at their deſired Port, uſe to offer to their Gods, their Saints, or their Patrons: And truly, My Lord, this Diſcourſe treating chiefly of the Turkiſh Polity, Government and Maxims of State, ſeems naturally to appertain to the Patronage of your Lordſhip, whoſe faculties of Wiſedom and Vertue have given you the Bleſſing of your Princes favour, and the Reputation as well abroad as at home, of an Eminent and Dexterous Miniſter of State.

It were a great Preſumption in me to offer any Obſervations of my own in the Courts of Chriſtian Princes to the teſt of your Lordſhip's Experience and Judgement, who not onely is acquainted with the Cuſtoms and Manners, but penetrates into the Deſigns, and knows the Cabinet-Councils of Neighbouring Principalities, with

with whom our divided World may poſſibly be concerned; but perhaps without diſparagement to your Lordſhip's profound Wiſedom, or over-value of my own abilities, I may confidently draw a rude Scheme before your Lordſhip, of the *Turkiſh*, Government, Policies, and Cuſtoms; a Subject which Travellers have rather repreſented to their Countrymen, to ſupply them with Diſcourſe and Admiration, than as a matter worthy the conſideration, or concernment of our Kings or our Governours.

It hath been the happy fortune of the *Turk* to be accounted barbarous and ignorant; for upon this perſuaſion Chriſtian Princes have laid themſelves open and unguarded to their greateſt danger; contending together for one Palm of Land, whilſt this puiſſant Enemy hath made himſelf Maſter of whole Provinces, and largely ſhared in the rich and pleaſant Poſſeſſions of *Europe*.

This contempt of the *Turk* on one ſide, cauſed the Emperour to be ſo backward in oppoſing that Torrent of the *Ottoman* Force, which in the firſt year of the late War broke in upon him; and the ſuſpicion of Deſigns from *France* on the other, altered the Reſolutions and Councils of the Emperour for proſecution of the War, which then running favourably on the Chriſtians part, was no leſs than with the aſtoniſhment of the whole World, and of the *Turks* themſelves, on a ſudden underſtood to be clapt up with Articles of a diſadvantageous Peace; admiring to ſee the Emperour give a ſtop to the current of his Victories, and relinquiſh the Game with a lucky hand. But this will ſeem no Riddle to thoſe who penetrate Affairs with the ſame Judgment that your Lordſhip doth, and conſider the unfirm condition the Houſe of *Auſtria* was in, by a daily expectation of the death or fall of ſo main a Baſis of it, as the King of *Spain*, and the diviſion amongſt

amongſt the Princes of the Empire, the League of the *Rhine*, the *French* practices to make the Duke of *Enguyen* King of *Poland*, and the extravagant demands of the *French* and *Rhiniſh* League for Winter-quarters, and places of ſtrength, not onely in *Hungary*, but alſo in *Styria*, and the adjacent places; and at the ſame time look on the Factions in *Hungary*, and a conſiderable Army of *French* in the bowels of *Germany*, who were ſuppoſed in thoſe Parts to have rather come with Deſign to overawe the next Diet, and force the *German* Princes to elect the *French* King for King of the *Romans*, than with ſincere and ſimple intentions of oppoſing themſelves to the Enemy of the Faith: For then it will appear, that the beſt uſe the Emperour could make of his good ſucceſs, was moderation in Victory, and reconciliation with his powerfull Enemy. And hereupon Earl *Leiſle* being diſpatched for Extraordinary Ambaſſador from his Imperial Majeſty, to the Grand Signior; though the *Turk* was elevated with the

thoughts

thoughts of the neceſſity the Chriſtians had of a Peace, did yet ſo happily manage his Charge and Employment, as created in the *Turks* an extraordinary Reverence towards his Perſon, and obtained ſuch Honours and Treatments from them, as the *Turkiſh* Court never beſtowed before on the Emperour's, or any other Chriſtian Ambaſſador; extorting this Complement from the Great Viſier, *That he was more ſatisfied the Emperour had ſent ſo brave and illuſtrious a Perſon, than if he had ſought to reconcile his Affections with a hundred thouſand Dollars more of Preſent.* And to doe juſtice to this worthy Perſon, he hath brought a Reputation to the *Britiſh* Nation, above any in our Age, whoſe Vertues and Induſtry have acquired the higheſt Truſts and Preferments in Foreign parts; and done the ſame honour to his King, under whom he was born a Subject, as to the preſent Emperour and his Anceſtors, under whom he is, and hath always been a faithfull Miniſter; having deſerved ſo eminently for ſaving the whole

whole *German* Empire from the Treaſon of *Walleſtein*, by his own ſingle act of bravery, (a ſtory notoriouſly known to all the World) as can never in gratitude be forgot by that Nation, nor want its due Record and place in the Hiſtory of that Countrey.

The ſpeculation of what is contained in this following Diſcourſe may ſeem unworthy of your Lordſhip's pretious hours, in regard of that Notion of Barbarity with which this Empire is ſtiled; yet the knowledge hereof will be like a *Turquoiſe*, or ſome other Jewels ſet within the Roſe of thoſe many Gems of your Lordſhip's Wiſedom and Vertues.

This Preſent, which I thus humbly conſecrate to your Lordſhip, may be termed barbarous, as all things are, which are differenced from us by diverſity of Manners and Cuſtome, and are not dreſſed in the mode and faſhion of our Times and Countries; for we contract prejudice from

from Ignorance and want of familiarity. But your Lordſhip, who exactly ponderates the weight of Humane Actions, acknowledges reaſon in all its habits, and draws not the meaſures of Oeconomy or Policy from external appearances or effects, but from the Fundamental and Original Conſtitutions; ſo that your Lordſhip will conclude, that a People, as the *Turks* are, Men of the ſame compoſition with us, cannot be ſo Savage and Rude as they are generally deſcribed; for ignorance and groſſneſs is the effect of Poverty, not incident to happy Men, whoſe ſpirits are elevated with Spoils and Trophies of ſo many Nations.

Knowing (My Lord) that this Work which I have undertakén is liable to common Cenſure, I have choſen to ſhrowd my name under the Patronage of your Lordſhip, to protect me from the ill-underſtanding and miſ-conceptions of our Countrey-men, both at home and abroad: againſt which I doubt not but

but to be ſufficiently armed in all parts where I Travel, when the countenance your Lordſhip affords me, is joined to the Authority of his Excellency the Earl of *Winchelſea*, His Majeſty's Ambaſſador Extraordinary, now actually Reſident at *Conſtantinople*, my ever honoured Lord; to whom I read, a long time before publiſhed to the World, the greateſt part of this following Treatiſe; and as I received his favourable approbation and aſſent to the verity of moſt matters herein contained; ſo I muſt ingenuouſly confeſs to have been beholden to that quick and refin'd Genius of his, who often rectified my Miſtakes, ſupplied me with Matter, and remembred me of many material Points, which I might otherwiſe have moſt unadviſedly omitted: And his Excellency knowing that in his abſence this Book might want a favourable Patron, left me to my ſelf to ſeek out one, who might concur with him in the ſame Innocent defence. And as, My Lord,

you

you are a Publick Perſon, and under our Gratious Sovereign, are one of thoſe Generous Spirits which have eſpouſed the common Intereſt of the Nation; ſo I preſume on this preſent occaſion not to want your Protection alſo in a ſingle capacity: For which exceſs of favours I ſhall ever pray for the Exaltation of the greater Glory of your Lordſhip, and for ever acknowledge my ſelf,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt humble,

moſt Faithfull, and

moſt devoted Servant,

PAUL RICAUT.

TO THE READER.

Courteous Reader,

I *Preſent thee here with a true Syſtem or Model of the* Turkiſh *Government and Religion; not in the ſame manner as certain ingenious Travellers have done, who have ſet down their Obſervations as they have obviouſly occurred in their Journeys; which being collected for the moſt part from Relations, and Diſcourſes of ſuch who caſually intervene in Company of Paſſengers, are conſequently ſubject to many Errors and Miſtakes: But having been an Inhabitant my ſelf at the Imperial City for the ſpace of five years, and aſſiſted by the advantage of conſiderable Journeys I have made through divers parts of* Turky, *and qualified by the Office I hold of Secretary to the Earl of* Winchelſea, *Lord Ambaſſador, I had opportunity by the conſtant acceſs and practice with the chief Miniſters of State, and variety of Negotiations which paſſed through my hands in the* Turkiſh *Court, to penetrate farther into the Myſteries of this Polity, which appear ſo ſtrange and barbarous to us, than haſty Travellers could do, who are forced to content themſelves with a ſuperficial knowledge.*

The Computations I have made of the value of their Offices, of the ſtrength and number of their Souldiery, according as every City and Countrey is rated, are deduced from their own Regiſters and Records. The Obſervations I have made of their Polity, are either

Maxims

To the Reader.

Maxims received from the Mouth and Argument of conſiderable Miniſters, or Concluſions ariſing from my own Experience and Conſiderations. The Articles of their Faith and Conſtitutions of Religion, I have ſet down as pronounced from the Mouth of ſome of the moſt learned Doctors and Preachers of their Law, with whom for Money or Preſents I gained a familiarity and appearance of friendſhip. The Relation of the Seraglio, *and Education of their Youth, with divers other matters of Cuſtome and Rule, where tranſmitted to me by ſeveral ſober Perſons, trained up in the beſt Education of the* Turkiſh *Learning; and particularly, by an underſtanding* Polonian, *who had ſpent nineteen years in the* Ottoman *Court.*

If (Reader) the ſuperſtition, vanity and ill foundation of the Mahometan *Religion ſeem fabulous, as a Dream, or the fancies of a diſtracted and wild Brain, thank God that thou wert born a Chriſtian, and within the Pale of an Holy and an Orthodox Church. If the Tyranny, Oppreſſion and Cruelty of that State, wherein Reaſon ſtands in no competition with the Pride and Luſt of an unreaſonable Miniſter, ſeem ſtrange to thy Liberty and Happineſs, thank God that thou art born in a Countrey the moſt free and juſt in all the World; and a Subject to the moſt indulgent, the moſt gratious of all the Princes of the Univerſe; That thy Wife, thy Children and the Fruits of thy Labour can be called thine own, and protected by the valiant Arme of thy fortunate King: And thus learn to know and prize thy own freedom, by compariſon with Foreign Servitude, that thou mayſt ever bleſs God and thy King, and make thy Happineſs breed thy Content, without degenerating into wantonneſs, or deſire of Revolution.* Farewell.

THE MAXIMS OF THE Turkiſh Polity.

Book I.

CHAP. I.

The Conſtitution of the Turkiſh Government *being different from moſt others in the World, hath need of peculiar Maxims and Rules whereon to eſtabliſh and confirm it ſelf.*

I Have begun a Work which ſeems very full of difficulty and labour; for to trace the footſteps of *Government* in the beſt formed and moulded *Commonwealths* (ſuch as are ſupported with *Reaſon* and with *Religion*) is no leſs than to unriddle and reſolve a Myſtery. For as a Commonwealth, by many Authours, hath not been unaptly compared to a Ship, in divers reſpects, and proper Allegories; ſo principally the ſmall

O navis referent in mare te novi fluctus. Hor. 14. Ode Lib. 1.

impreſſion or ſign of track, the floating habitation leaves behind it on the Sea, in all the traverſes it makes, according to the different winds to attain its Port, is a lively emblem of the various motions of good Government, which by reaſon of circumſtances, times, and multiplicity of chances and events, leaves little or no path in all the Ocean of humane affairs.

But there muſt be yet certain Rules in every Government, which are the foundations and Pillars of it; not ſubject to the alteration of time, or any other accident; and ſo eſſential to it, that they admit of no change, untill the whole model of Polity ſuffer a Convulſion, and be ſhaken into ſome other form; which is either effected by the new Laws of a Conquerour, or by inteſtine and civil Revolutions. Of ſuch Maxims as theſe, (obvious to all who have had any practice in the *Ottoman Court*) I have made a Collection, ſubjoyning to every head ſome reflexions and conſiderations of my own, which at my leiſure hours I have weighed and examined, bringing them (according to the proportion of my weak judgment and ability) to the meaſure and teſt of Reaſon and Vertue; as alſo to a ſimilitude, and congruity with the Maxims of other Empires, to which God hath given the largeſt extent of Dominion.

But indeed when I have conſidered ſeriouſly the contexture of the *Turkiſh* Government, the abſoluteneſs of an Emperour without Reaſon, without Vertue, whoſe Speeches may be irrational, and yet muſt be Laws; whoſe Actions irregular, and yet Examples; whoſe Sentence and Judgment, if in matters of the Imperial concernment, are moſt commonly corrupt, and yet decrees irreſiſtible: When I conſider what little rewards there are for Vertue, and no puniſhment for profitable and thriving Vice; how

how Men are raiſed at once by adulation, chance, and the ſole favour of the Prince, without any Title of noble Bloud, or the motives of previous deſerts, or former teſtimonies and experience of parts and abilities, to the weightieſt, the richeſt, and moſt honourable charges of the Empire; when I conſider how ſhort their continuance is in them, how with one frown of their Prince they are cut off; with what greedineſs, above all people in the World, they thirſt and haſte to be rich, and yet know their treaſure is but their ſnare; what they labour for is but as Slaves for their great Patron and Maſter, and what will inevitably effect their ruine and deſtruction, though they have all the arguments of faithfulneſs, vertue, and moral honeſty (which are rare in a *Turk*) to be their advocates, and plead for them. When I conſider many other things of like nature, (which may more at large hereafter be diſcourſed of) one might admire the long continuance of this great and vaſt Empire, and attribute the ſtability thereof without change within it ſelf, and the increaſe of Dominions and conſtant progreſs of its Arms, rather to ſome ſupernatural cauſe, than to the ordinary Maxims of State, or Wiſedom of the Governours, as if the Divine Will of the All-knowing Creatour, had choſen for the good of his Church, and chaſtiſement of the ſins and vices of Chriſtians, to raiſe and ſupport this mighty people. *Mihi quanto plura recentium ſeu veterum revolvo, tanto magis ludibria rerum mortalium cunctis in negotiis obſervantur.* Tacit. l. 3. *Ann.*

But that which cements all breaches, and cures all thoſe wounds in this Body Politick, is the quickneſs and ſeverity of their juſtice, which not conſidering much the ſtrict diviſion and parts of *diſtributive* and *commutative*, makes almoſt every crime equal, and puniſhes it with the laſt and extremeſt chaſtiſement, which is death; I mean thoſe which have relation

to the Government, and are of common and publick intereſt. Without this remedy, which I lay down as a principal prevention of the greateſt diſorders, this mighty Body would burſt with the poiſon of its own ill humours, and ſoon divide it ſelf into ſeveral Signories, as the ambition and power of the Governours moſt remote from the Imperial Seat adminiſtred them hopes and ſecurity of becoming abſolute.

In this Government, ſeverity, violence and cruelty are natural to it, and it were as great an errour to begin to looſe the reins, and eaſe the people of that oppreſſion to which they and their fore-fathers have ſince their firſt original been accuſtomed, as it would be in a Nation free-born, and uſed to live under the protection of good Laws, and the Clemency of a vertuous and Chriſtian Prince, to exerciſe a Tyrannical power over their Eſtates and Lives, and change their Liberty into ſervitude and ſlavery. The *Turks* had the original of their Civil Government founded in the time of the War: for when they firſt came out of *Scythia*, and took Arms in their hands, and ſubmitted unto one General, it is to be ſuppoſed, that they had no Laws but what were Arbitrary and Martial, and moſt agreeable to the enterpriſe and deſign they had then in hand, when *Tangrolipix* overthrew the *Perſian Sultan*, poſſeſſed himſelf of his Dominions and power, and called and opened the way for his companions out of *Armenia*; when *Cutlumuſes* revolted from him, and made a diſtinct Kingdom in *Arabia*: when other Princes of the *Selcuccian* Family in the infancy of the Turkiſh power had by Wars among themſelves, or by Teſtament made diviſion of their poſſeſſions; when (*Anno* 1300.) *Ottoman*, by ſtrange fortunes, and from ſmall beginnings ſwallowed up all the other Governments into the *Oguſian* Tribe, and united them under one Head, untill at laſt it arrived to that greatneſs and

power

power it now enjoys. The whole condition of this People was but a continued ſtate of War; wherefore it is not ſtrange, if their Laws are ſevere, and in moſt things arbitrary; that the Emperour ſhould be Abſolute and above Law, and that moſt of their Cuſtoms ſhould run in a certain Chanel and Courſe moſt anſwerable to the height and unlimited power of the Governour, and conſequently to the oppreſſion and ſubjection of the people: and that they ſhould thrive moſt by ſervitude, be moſt happy, proſperous and contented under Tyranny, is as natural to them, as to a body to be nouriſhed with that diet, which it had from its infancy or birth been acquainted with. But not onely is Tyranny requiſite for this people, and a ſtiff reign to curb them, leſt by an unknown liberty they grow mutinous and unruly, but likewiſe the large territories and remote parts of the Empire require ſpeedy preventions, without proceſſes of law, or formal indictment: jealouſie and ſuſpicion of miſ-government being licence and authority enough for the Emperour to inflict his ſevereſt puniſhments; all which depends upon the abſoluteneſs of the Prince; which becauſe it is that whereby the *Turks* are principally ſupported in their greatneſs, and is the prime Maxim and Foundation of their State, we ſhall make it the diſcourſe and ſubject of the following Chapter.

Ma Eſperati che ſi fanno, e che cominciano ad eſſere in veneratione, &c. Machi. c. 6. *del Principe.*

CHAP. II.

The Abſoluteneſs of the Emperour is a great ſupport of the Turkiſh *Empire.*

THE *Turks* having (as is before declared) laid the firſt foundation of their Government with the Principles moſt agreeable to Military Diſcipline,


Sultan Mahomet Han the present Emperor
of the Turkes aged 26. yeares Anno 1669

their Generals or Princes, whoſe will and luſts they ſerved, became abſolute Maſters of their Lives and Eſtates; ſo that what they gained and acquired by the Sword with labours, perils and ſufferings, was appropriated to the uſe and benefit of their Great Maſter. All the delightfull Fields of *Aſia*, the pleaſant Plains of *Tempe* and *Thrace*, all the Plenty of *Egypt*, and Fruitfulneſs of the *Nile*, the Luxury of *Corinth*, the Subſtance of *Peloponneſus*, *Athens*, *Lemnos*, *Scio* and *Mitylene*, with other Iſles of the *Ægean Sea*, the Spices of *Arabia*, and the Riches of a great part of *Perſia*, all *Armenia*, the Provinces of *Pontus*, *Galatia*, *Bythinia*, *Phrygia*, *Lycia*, *Pamphylia*, *Paleſtine*, *Cœloſyria* and *Phœnicia*, *Colchis*, and a great part of *Georgia*, the Tributary Principalities of *Moldavia* and *Valachia*, *Romania*, *Bulgaria*, and *Servia*, and the beſt part of *Hungary*, concur all together to ſatisfie the appetite of one ſingle perſon; all the extent of this vaſt Territory, the Lands and Houſes, as well as the Caſtles and Arms, are the proper Goods of the Grand Signior, in his ſole diſpoſal and gift they remain, whoſe poſſeſſion and right they are; onely to Lands dedicated to Religious uſes, the Grand Signior diſclaims all right or claim; and this he ſo piouſly obſerves (to the ſhame of our Sectaries in *England*, who violate the *penetralia* of the Sanctuary) that when a Baſhaw, though afterwards convicted of Treaſon, beſtows any lands or rents on any certain Moſch or Temple, that grant or gift is good and exempted from any diſpoſal or power of the Grand Signior. The lands being thus originally in the Grand Signior, after the Conqueſts were made, and the Countrey ſecured, and in condition to be diſtributed, diviſions were made of the Houſes, Manors and Farms among the Souldiery, whom they call *Timars*, as the reward and recompence of their valour and labour; in conſi-

The largeneſs of the Turkiſh Empire.

deration of which, every one proportionably to his revenue and poſſeſſion, is obliged to maintain Horſe and Men to be always ready when the Grand Signior ſhall call him forth to ſerve him in the Wars; by which means the whole Countrey being in the hands of the Souldiery, all places are the better ſtrengthened, and the conquered people more eaſily kept from Mutiny and Rebellion; not much unlike our Tenure of Knigts-ſervice in *England*, and Lands held of the Crown, but with this difference, that we enjoy them by the title of a fixed and ſettled Law, never to be forfeited but upon Treaſon and Rebellion; they enjoy them alſo by inheritance derived from the Father to the Son, but yet as uſufructuary during the pleaſure of the Emperour, in whom the propriety is always reſerved, and who doth often, as his humour and fancy leads him to pleaſe and gratifie a ſtranger, diſpoſſeſs an ancient Poſſeſſour, whoſe Family hath for many generations enjoyed that Inheritance. Sometimes I have heard with the ſighs of ſome and the curſe of others, how the Grand Signior heated in his Hunting, and pleaſed with the refreſhment of a little cool and cryſtal Water, preſented him by a poor Paiſant, hath in recompence thereof freed the Tenant from the rent of his Landlord, and by his ſole word confirmed to him the Cottage he lived in, the Woods, Gardens and Fields he manured, with as ſound a title, as our long deeds and conveyances ſecure our purchaſes and inheritances in *England*; and this the former Maſter dares not name injuſtice, becauſe this Tenant is now made proprietor by the will of the Grand Signior, which was the ſame title and claim with his; preſcription, tenant-right and cuſtome availing nothing in this caſe. For if the inheritance hath been anciently derived from Father to the Son, the more is the goodneſs and bounty of the Emperour to be acknowledged, that hath permitted

mitted ſo long a ſucceſſion of his favours to run in one Family, in whoſe power it was to transfer it to others.

The abſolute and unlimited power of this Prince is more evident by the Titles they give, as *God on Earth, the Shadow of God, Brother to the Sun and Moon, the Giver of all Earthly Crowns*, &c. And though they do not build and erect Altars to him, as was done to the Roman Emperours, when that people degenerated into a faſhion of deformed adulation, wherein *Italy* is at preſent corrupted; yet the conception they have of his power, the Ray they conceive to be in him of divine illumination, is a kind of imagery and idolatrous fancy they frame of his divinity. It is an ordinary ſaying among the *Turkiſh Cadees* and Lawyers, that *the Grand Signior is above the Law*; that is, whatſoever Law is written, is controllable, and may be contradicted by him: his mouth is the Law it ſelf, and the power of an infallible interpretation is in him; and though the *Mufti* is many times, for cuſtome, formality and ſatisfaction of the people conſulted with, yet when his ſentences have not been agreeable to the deſigns intended, I have known him in an inſtant thrown from his Office to make room for another Oracle better prepared for the purpoſe of his Maſter. Some maintain that the very Oaths and Promiſes of the Grand Signior are always revocable, when the performance of his Vow is a reſtriction to the abſolute power of the Empire. And I remember when my Lord Ambaſſadour hath ſometimes complained of the breach of our Capitulations, and pleaded that the Grand Signior had no power by ſingle Commands to infringe Articles of Peace, to which he had obliged himſelf by ſolemn Oaths and Vows; the Interpreters have gently touched that point, and been as nice to queſtion how

how far the power of the Grand Signior extended, as we ought to be in the ſubtile points of the divine Omnipotence, but rather in contemplation of the Grand Signior's juſtice, wiſedom, faith and clemency, inſinuated arguments of honour, convenience and juſtice in maintaining the League inviolate with the King of *England*. It was *Juſtinian*'s rule concerning the Prerogative of Princes, *Etſi legibus ſoluti ſumus, tamen legibus vivimus.* That is, although the Majeſty of Princes, and the neceſſity of having a ſupreme Head in all Governments, did free and privilege them from all puniſhment, and exempt them from the cenſure and correction of the law, that no earthly power could call them to account for their errours or diſorders in this World; yet it is neceſſary to the being of an abſolute Monarch, to be a ſevere executioner of the Laws of his Countrey, and it is more his intereſt and ſecurity, than to act without rule, and always to make uſe of the power of abſolute dominion, which is to be applied like Phyſick, when the ordinary force of nature cannot remove the malignancy of ſome peccant humours. The Grand Signior himſelf is alſo reſtrained by Laws, but without impeachment to his abſolute juriſdiction. For when there is a new Emperour, it is the cuſtome to conduct him with great pomp and triumph to a place in the Suburbs of *Conſtantinople* called *Job*, where is an ancient Monument of ſome certain Prophet, or Holy man, whom the Turks for want of knowledge in Antiquity and Hiſtory, ſtyle that *Job*, who was recorded for the mirrour of conſtancy and patience. For they confound all Hiſtory in Chronology, ſaying that *Job* was *Solomon*'s Judge of the Court, and *Alexander* the Great, Captain of his Army. At this place ſolemn Prayers are made, that God would proſper, and infuſe wiſedom into him, who is to manage ſo great a charge. Then the

Muſti

Mufti embracing him, beſtows his benediction, and the Grand Signior ſwears and promiſes ſolemnly to maintain the Muſleman Faith, and Laws of the Prophet *Mahomet*; and then the Viſiers of the Bench, and other Baſhaws, with profound reverence and humility, kiſſing the ground firſt, and then the Hemm of his Veſt, acknowledge him their lawfull and undoubted Emperour: And after this form of inauguration, he returns with the like ſolemnity and magnificence to the *Seraglio* (which is always the Seat of the *Ottoman* Emperours.) And thus the Grand Signior retains, and obliges himſelf to govern within the compaſs of Laws, but they give him ſo large a latitude, that he can no more be ſaid to be bound or limited, than a man who hath the World to rove in can be termed a Priſoner, becauſe he cannot exceed the incloſure of the Univerſe. For though he be obliged to the execution of the *Mahometan Law*, yet that *Law* calls the Emperour the Mouth and Interpreter of it, and endues him with power to alter and annul the moſt ſettled and fixed Rules, at leaſt to wave and diſpenſe with them when they are an obſtacle to his Government, and contradict (as we ſaid before) any great deſign of the Empire. But the learned Doctours among the *Turks* more clearly reſtrain the Imperial power onely to the obſervation of that which is Religious in the *Mahometan* Law, ſaying, That in matters which are Civil his Law is Arbitrary, and needs no other Judge or Legiſlatour than his own will. Hence it is that they ſay, the Grand Signior can never be depoſed or made accountable to any for his crimes, whilſt he deſtroys careleſly of his Subjects under the number of 100 a day; and in like manner hence it is, that though the *Mahometan* Law determines the teſtimony of two Witneſſes of that Faith to be valid for the determination of all caſes of difference; yet by our Capitulation it is pro-

is provided, that no *Turkiſh* Witneſſes of what number or quality ſoever can avail any of the *Engliſh* Nation, by reaſon that the caſe being Civil is diſpenſible by the Imperial power; but I doubt, were any matter in queſtion Criminal (as we have never, God be praiſed, had occaſion to put it to trial) the Capitulations would be forced to yield to the *Mahometan* Law, as being both Religious and Divine, with which the Sultan hath no power to diſpenſe. Of what conſequence and benefit this abſolute power hath been to the *Turks*, is evident by the extent of their Empire and ſucceſs of their Arms. For if the Sultan pleaſes the Souldiery, no matter how the people in this conſtitution is contented; and this was the concluſion of *Machiavil* upon this Government, in the 19th Chapter of his Book *del Principe*. And it muſt needs be a great advantage to a Commander, when the *Utile* and *Juſtum* are reconciled and made the ſame, and that he meets no contradiction or oppoſition at home, which may retard or croſs the great deſigns abroad. The Emperour of *Germany* had doubtleſs ſooner encountred the *Turks*, and given a ſtop to his free entrance the firſt year of the late War into *Hungary*, had he been abſolute of the whole Empire, and not neceſſitated to expect the conſent of his ſeveral Princes, and the reſult of a Diet, when the *Turks* were even ready to enter *Germany*. For when many heads or hands are required, all buſineſs moves ſlowly, and more time is ſpent in agreement of the manner of action, in arguments and debates (which are moſt commonly carried on by faction) than in the moſt difficult point of execution. It would ſeem a great clog to the Grand Signior to be obliged to depend on the bounty of his Subjects when he would make a War, or on the judgment of a Lawyer that ſhould contradict and cenſure the actions of his Prince as irregu-

irregular, and exceeding the privileges of his Prerogative. It is very difficult to underſtand how it is poſſible with theſe Fetters for any Countrey or City ever to arrive to that height, as to be termed the Miſtreſs of a great Empire, or a Prince be ſaid to have a long arm, or embrace a large compaſs of the Globe, who is pinioned with the bands of his own Laws. But I confeſs it is a bleſſing and wonderfull happineſs of a people, to be Subjects of a gratious Prince, who hath preſcribed his power within the compaſs of wholeſome Laws, acknowledged a right of poſſeſſion and propriety of Eſtate as well in his Subjects as himſelf, who doth not puniſh the innocent with the guilty, nor oppreſs without diſtinction, nor act the part of that King whom God gives in his wrath. But then they muſt content themſelves with their own Borders, or ſome neighbouring conqueſt, and this is better, and a greater glory and content, than the honour of being Slaves to the luſt of a Monarch, whoſe Titles comprehend the greateſt part of the World.

CHAP. III.

The Leſſon of Obedience to the Emperour is taught by the Turks, *as a Principle of Religion rather than of State.*

THE abſolute power in the Prince implies an exact obedience in the Subjects; and to inſtill and confirm that Principle no art or induſtry is wanting in the education of thoſe who are placed in

in the *Seraglio*, with deſign of preferment to Offices and great Charges; ſo that even the Oath of Obedience which Friars and other Religious men vow to their Superiours at their firſt initiation into Eccleſiaſtical Orders, is not more exactly or devoutly obſerved or profeſſed by them, than this Doctrine of ſubmiſſion to the will of their great Maſter is carefully taught to his young Scholars who ſtand Probationers and Candidates for all the Government of the Empire. To die by the hand or command of the Grand Signior, when the blow is ſubmitted to, with entire reſignation, is taught to be the higheſt point of Martyrdom; and whoſe good fortune it is ſo to ſuffer is immediately tranſported to Paradiſe. *Kara Muſtapha Paſſaw* (a great Viſier) after he had been ſo ſucceſsfull in all matters of his charge, and proved ſo excellent an Inſtrument of victories and ſervices to his Maſter, that he was applauded by all to be a moſt happy and fortunate Miniſter, was ſo ſenſible of his own condition, and the favour of his Prince, that he confeſſed he was now arrived to the greateſt glory and perfection he could in this life aſpire to, and onely wanted the holy Martyrdom, to die by the order and ſentence of the Grand Signior, as the reward of his faithfulneſs, and the conſummation of all his Honours.

Such as receive any wages or pay coming from the Exchequer, or any Office depending on the Crown, have the title of *Kul*, which is, the Grand Signior's *Slave*: ſuch is the great Viſier and all the Baſhaws of the Empire, and it is more honourable than the condition and name of *Subject*; for they have a privilege over theſe, and can revile, beat and abuſe them with Authority; but the *Subject* cannot offer the leaſt injury to the *Slave*, without danger of ſevere puniſhment. *Slavery* amongſt the *Turks* denotes a condition of entire reſignation to the

the will and command of the Emperour, to perform whatſoever he ſignifies; or if poſſible, what he conceives: though he command whole Armies of them to precipitate themſelves from a Rock, or build a Bridge with piles of their bodies for him to paſs Rivers, or to kill one another to afford him paſtime and pleaſure. They that have been where they have ſeen and known the manner of this blind obedience, may well cry out, *O homines ad ſervitutem paratos!* And doubtleſs the flattery uſed in the *Seraglio* towards the Prince by thoſe that are near his perſon, is proportionable to this condition of ſlavery they profeſs, and cannot but fanſie a ſtrange kind of projected baſeneſs in all the deportment within the Walls of the *Seraglio*, when there appears ſo much condeſcenſion abroad to all the luſts and evil inclinations of their Maſter; ſo that a generous Prince (as ſome have been found among the *Ottoman* Emperours) though he deſired not the publick liberty, would yet be weary of this ſlaviſh compliance, and ſeek other counſel and means to inform himſelf of the true ſtate of his own and other Kings Dominions, than ſuch as proceed from men unexperienced in any other Court or Countrey than that they live in. This flattery and immoderate ſubjection hath doubtleſs been the cauſe of the decay of the *Turkiſh* diſcipline in the time of Sultan *Ibrahim*, when Women governed, and now in this preſent age of Sultan *Mahomet*, whoſe counſels are given chiefly by his Mother, *Negroes*, Eunuchs, and ſome handſome young Moſayp or Favourite; ſeldom any from without being permitted, or have their ſpirits emboldened to declare a truth, or are called to give their counſel in matters of greateſt importance. So that this obedience which brave and wiſe Emperours have made uſe of in the advancement of noble exploits, and enlargement of their Empire;

Qui libertatem publicam nollet, eum projectæ ſervientium patientiæ tedebat. Tac.

Empire, is with effeminate Princes (delighted with flattery) the ſnare of their own greatneſs, and occaſion of weak counſels and means in the management of great deſigns. If a man ſeriouſly conſider the whole compoſition of the *Turkiſh* Court, he will find it to be a Priſon and Banniard of Slaves, differing from that where the Galley-ſlaves are immured, onely by the ornaments and glittering out-ſide and appearances: here their Chains are made of Iron, and there of Gold, and the difference is onely in a painted ſhining ſervitude, from that which is a ſqualid, ſordid and a noiſome ſlavery. For the Youths educated in the *Seraglio* (which we ſhall have occaſion to diſcourſe of in the next Chapter) are kept as it were within a Priſon, under a ſtrange ſeverity of diſcipline, ſome for 20, 30, others 40 years, others the whole time of the age of man, and grow gray under the correction of their *Hogiaes* or Tutors. The two Brothers of this preſent Grand Signior are alſo impriſoned here, reſtrained with a faithfull and carefull guard, and perhaps are ſometimes permitted out of grace and favour into the preſence of their Brother, to kiſs his Veſt, and to perform the offices of duty and humility before their Prince. The Ladies alſo of the *Seraglio* have their faithfull keepers of the black guard to attend them, and can onely have the liberty of enjoying the air which paſſes through Grates and Lattices, unleſs ſometime they obtain licence to ſport and recreate themſelves in the Garden, ſeparated from the ſight of men by Walls higher than thoſe of any Nunnery.

Nay, if a man conſiders the contexture of the whole *Turkiſh* Government, he will find it ſuch a Fabrick of ſlavery, that it is a wonder if any amongſt them ſhould be born of a free ingenuous Spirit. The Grand Signior is born of a Slave, the Mother of the

the preſent being *Circaſian*, taken perhaps by the *Tartars*, in their incurſions into that Countrey. The Viſiers themſelves are not always free-born by Father or Mother; for the *Turks* get more Children by their ſlaves than by their Wives, and the continual ſupply of ſlaves ſent in by the *Tartars*, taken from different Nations, by way of the Black Sea, (as hereafter we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more fully) fills *Conſtantinople* with ſuch a ſtrange race, mixture, and medly of different ſorts of Bloud, that it is hard to find many that can derive a clear line from ingenuous Parents: So that it is no wonder that amongſt the *Turks* a diſpoſition be found fitted and diſpoſed for ſervitude, and that is better governed with a ſevere and tyrannous hand, than with ſweetneſs and lenity, unknown to them and their Forefathers: as *Grotius* takes this Maxim out of *Ariſtotle Quoſdam homines naturâ eſſe ſervos*; i. e. *ad ſervitutem aptos*; *& ita populi quidem, eo ſunt ingenio, ut regi quam regerè norint rectius.* But ſince it appears that ſubmiſſion and ſubjection are ſo incident to the nature of the *Turks*, and obedience taught, and ſo carefully inſtilled into them with their firſt Rudiments; it may be a pertinent queſtion, how it comes to paſs, that there are ſo many mutinies and rebellions as are ſeen and known amongſt the *Turks*, and thoſe commonly the moſt inſolent, violent and deſperate that we read of in ſtory. To let paſs the mutinies of former times in the *Ottoman* Camp, and the uſual, though ſhort rebellions of ancient days: I ſhall inſtance in the cauſes and beginnings of two notorious diſturbances, or rather madneſſes of the Souldiery not mentioned in any Hiſtory, which being paſſages of our age, deſerve greatly to be recorded.

This obedience then that is ſo diligently taught and inſtilled into the Turkiſh Militia (as to the *Spahees* in their *Seraglios*, or *Seminaries*; the *Janizaries* *Spahees*: the Turkiſh Horſe.

zaries in their Chambers) ſometimes is forgot, when the paſſions and animoſities of the Court (by which inferiour affections are moſt commonly regulated) corrupt that Diſcipline, which its reaſon and ſobriety inſtituted. For the affections of Princes are endued with a general influence, when two powerfull parties aſpiring both to greatneſs and authority, allure the Souldiers to their reſpective Factions, and engage them in a Civil War amongſt themſelves; and hence proceed ſeditions, deſtruction of Empires, the overthrow of Commonwealths, and the violent death of great Miniſters of State.

And ſo it happened when ill government, and unproſperous ſucceſſes of War, cauſed diſobedience in the Souldiery, which ſome emulous of the greatneſs of thoſe that were in power, nouriſhed and raiſed to make place for themſelves or their party. For in the time of *Sultan Mahomet*, the preſent Grand Signior, when the whole Government of the Empire reſted in the hands of one *Mulki Kadin*, a young audacious Woman, by the extraordinary favour and love of the Queen-Mother, (who, as it was divulged, exerciſed an unnatural kind of carnality with the ſaid Queen) ſo that nothing was left to the counſel and order of the Viſier and grave Seniors, but was firſt to receive approbation and authority from her; the black *Eunuchs* and *Negroes* gave laws to all, and the Cabinet Councils were held in the ſecret Apartments of the Women; and there were Proſcriptions made, Officers diſcharged, or ordained as were moſt proper to advance the intereſt of this Feminine Government. But at length the Souldiery (not uſed to the Tyranny of Women) no longer ſupporting this kind of ſervitude, in a moment reſolved on a remedy, and in great tumults came to the *Seraglio*, where commanding the Grand Signior himſelf to the *Kioſch*, or Banquetting-houſe, they

they demanded without farther Prologue the heads of the favourite *Eunuchs*; there was no Argument or Rhetorick to be propoſed to this unreaſonable multitude, nor time given for delays, or conſultation; but every one of the accuſed, as he was entred into the Souldiers Roll or Catalogue, and required, being firſt ſtrangled, was afterwards thrown headlong from the Wall of the Garden, and committed to the farther ſatisfaction of their enemies revenge, by whom from thence they were dragged to the *Hippodromo*, and before the new *Moſque* cut into ſmall pieces, and their fleſh roaſted aud eaten by them. The day following, they apprehended *Mulki*, and her Husband *Schaban Kalfa*, both whom they put to death; nor ended this tumult here, untill by means of diſſention between the *Spahees* and *Janizaries*, the principal Miniſters found means and opportunity to interpoſe their power; and having executed ſeveral of the *Spahees*, and performed other exemplary parts of Juſtice, reduced matters to ſome kind of quietneſs and compoſure; and thus order reſults often from confuſion, and tumults in corrupted Commonwealths have operated good effects to the redreſs of ſeveral evils. But beſides this inſurrection or mutiny of the *Janizaries*, have ſucceeded divers other; but becauſe there hath been no diſorder amongſt them ſo notorious and memorable, as that which occaſioned the death of *Kioſem*, Grandmother to the preſent *Sultan*, we have thought fit to record the certain particulars of it to all poſterity.

CHAP. IV.

A True Relation of the Deſigns managed by the old Queen, Wife of Sultan Ahmet, *and Mother of* Sultan Morat, *and* Sultan Ibrahim, *againſt her Grand-Child* Sultan Mahomet, *who now Reigns; and of the Death of the ſaid Queen and her Complices.*

AFter the murther of *Sultan Ibrahim*, by conſpiracy of the *Janizaries*, *Sultan Mahomet*, (eldeſt Son of the late deceaſed Emperour, a Child of nine years old) ſucceeded in the Throne of his Father; and the tuition of him, and adminiſtration of the Government (during his minority) was committed to the old Queen, the Grandmother, called *Kioſem*; a Lady, who through her long experience, and practice in affairs, was able, and proper for ſo conſiderable an Office; and ſo the young *Sultan* was conducted to the *Moſch* of *Eiub*, where, with the accuſtomed Ceremonies, his Sword was girt to his ſide, and he proclaimed Emperour through all the Kingdoms and Provinces of his Dominions.

For ſome time this old Queen governed all things according to her pleaſure, untill the Mother of this young *Sultan* (as yet trembling with the thoughts of the horrid death of her Lord; and fearing leſt the ſubtile and old Politician the Grandmother (who had compaſſed the death of her Husband) ſhould likewiſe contrive the Murther of her Son, grew hourly more jealous of his life and ſafety; which ſuſpicion of hers was augmented by the knowledge ſhe had

had of the ambitious and haughty ſpirit of the Grandmother, and the private treaties, and ſecret correſpondence ſhe held with the *Janizaries*, which compelled her to a reſolution of making a Faction likewiſe with the *Spahees*, and *Paſhaws*, and *Beyes*, who had received their Education in the *Seraglio*, being a party always oppoſite to the *Janizaries*. Theſe ſhe courted by Letters and Meſſages, complaining of the death and murther of the *Sultan* her Husband, the Pride and Inſolence of the *Janizaries*; and ſmall eſteem was had of her Son, their undoubted Prince; adding, that if they provided not for their own ſafety, the old Queen would aboliſh both the name and order of *Spahees*. The *Aſiatick Spahees* awakened hereat, with a conſiderable Army marched to *Scutari*, under the conduct of *Gurgi Nebi*, and demanded the heads of thoſe who had been the Traytors and Conſpiratours againſt the ſacred Life of their late Sovereign; all which were then under the protection of the *Janizaries*, and ſupported by the powerfull Authority of the Queen Regent. Upon this Alarm the Grand Viſier, called (*Morat Paſhaw*) who had had his Education among the *Janizaries*, being adored by them as an Oracle, and engaged with them in the late Treaſon againſt the *Sultan*, ſpeedily paſſed over from *Conſtantinople* to *Scutari*, with an Army of *Janizaries*, and others of his favourites and followers, tranſporting likewiſe Artillery and all neceſſaries for entrenchment; ſome skirmiſhes paſſed between the Vanguard of the *Spahees* and the *Deli* (which are the Viſier's Guard) and thereby had engaged both the Armies; but that the two Chief Juſtices of *Anatolia* and *Greece* interpoſing with their grave and religious countenances, preached to them of the danger and impiety there was in the effuſion of *Muſſelmins* or Believers Bloud; and that, had they any juſt pretences, their plea ſhould

be heard, and all differences decided by the Law. Theſe, and ſuch like perſuaſions made impreſſion on *Gurgi Nebi* and other *Spahees:* and the poſture they found their Adverſaries in, to give them battel, made them inclinable to hearken to propoſals for accommodation; but eſpecially their courages were abated by what the Juſtices had declared, that in caſe they repaired not to their own homes, the Viſier was reſolved to burn all the Rolls, and proclaim a general *Neſiraum* through the whole Empire: which is an Edict of the King and *Mufti*, commanding all the *Turks* of his Kingdoms from ſeven years old and upward to arm and follow him to the War.

The *Spahees* hereupon diſperſed themſelves; and from their retreat encreaſed the Pride of the *Janizaries* faction, and of their chief Commanders, *viz. Bectas Aga*, highly favoured by the Queen Regent; *Kul Kiahia* Lieutenant of the *Janizaries*, and *Kara Chiaus* a follower of *Bectas*, who now eſteemed themſelves abſolute Maſters of the Empire. Theſe three now governed all matters, contriving in their ſecret Councils the deſtruction of the *Spahees*; eſpecially thoſe famed for Riches and Valour; and as one of the firſt Rank, gave order to the *Paſha* of *Anatolia* to take away the life of *Gurgi Nebi*, whom accordingly he one day aſſaulted in his quarters, and being abandoned by his Souldiers ſhot him with a Piſtol, and ſent his head to *Conſtantinople*.

The *Spahees* exaſperated hereat, entred into private Councils and Conſpiracies in *Anatolia* againſt the *Janizaries*, drawing to their party ſeveral *Beyes* and *Paſhaws* of *Aſia* (and particularly one *Ipſir* a *Circaſian* born, but educated in the *Seraglio*, a perſon of a courageous ſpirit, and powerfull in Men and Treaſure) aſſaulted many quarters of the *Janizaries* in *Aſia*, and cutting off their Arms and Noſes, miſerably

rably ſlaughtered as many as fell into their hands.

On the other party *Bectas Aga*, ſecure in his condition, amaſſed wealth with both hands by new impoſitions, rapine, and other arts; cauſing to be coined at *Belgrade* 300 thouſand Aſpers, one third Silver and two of Tin; theſe Aſpers he diſperſed amongſt the Tradeſmen and *Artiſans*, forcing others to exchange his falſe metal for Gold, at the value of 160 Aſpers for the *Hungarian* Ducat. The people ſenſible of the cheat, began a mutiny in the quarter of the *Sadlers* at *Conſtantinople*, which encreaſed ſo faſt that the whole City was immediately in a general uproar: This Tumult was violently carried to the place of the *Mufti*, whom they forced with the *Seigh* (who is the Grand Signior's Preacher) and the *Nakib Eſrif*, a Primate of the *Mahometan* Race, to accompany them to the *Seraglio*, where at the inward Gate of the Royal Lodgings, with clamours and out-cries they made their complaint. In this danger the Grand Signior was adviſed by the *Capi Agaſi*, and *Solyman Aga*, the *Kuzlir Aga* or chief Eunuch of the Women, that this happy conjuncture was to be embraced for the deſtruction of *Bectas* and his Complices; but fear, and too much caution hindred that deſign for the preſent; onely it was judged fit, for ſatisfaction of the Multitude, that *Melek Ahmet Paſhaw* (then Prime Viſier, and yet a ſlave to the luſts of the *Janizaries*) ſhould be deprived of his office; which was immediately effected; and the Seal taken from him was delivered to *Siaus Paſhaw*, a ſtout and valiant perſon. This Viſier being jealous of his own honour, and jealous for the ſafety of the Empire, caſt about all ways to ſuppreſs the arrogance of *Bectas* and his adherents; leſt the like ſhame and misfortune ſhould befall him, as did to *Murad Paſhaw* one of his late Predeceſſours in the Office of Viſier, who for diſſenting from

Bectas in opinion, had loſt his life, had he not eſcaped his fury by flying into *Greece*. The times were alſo troubleſome, and full of danger; the *Janizaries* kept Guard in the ſtreets, not ſuffering ſo much as two Citizens to walk together, for prevention of ſecret conſultations; many *Artiſans*, or Handy-craftsmen were impriſoned, as principally in the late tumult, againſt the conſent and order of the new Viſier; the Court was alſo divided; The *Sultan*'s party contrived to ſurprize and kill the rebellious Commanders of the *Janizaries*, and that the day following, the Lieutenant of the *Baltagees*, or Hatchetmen, ſhould encounter *Kul-chiachia* as he came according to cuſtome to the *Divan*, and ſlay him; but the Old Queen being of a contrary faction, with threats and menaces frighted that Officer from his deſign. The two Queens were exaſperated highly againſt each other; one to maintain the authority of her Son and the other her own; in the City the confuſion grew greater; the *Janizaries* were not pleaſed with the election of *Siaus Paſſa*, knowing him to be averſe to their faction; but yet conſidering the ſtate of the times, they endeavoured with fair promiſes to allure him to their party. The old Queen by Letters adviſed *Bectas* of all matters that were diſcourſed in the *Seraglio*, intimating that the young Queen was authour of all theſe diſturbances, and that therefore as a remedy of all theſe evils, it was neceſſary that *Sultan Mahomet* ſhould be depoſed, and his younger Brother *Solyman* placed in his ſtead, who having a Mother, would be abſolutely ſubject to her tuition: ſhe added likewiſe that *Solyman* was a luſty Youth, corpulent and majeſtical, whereas *Sultan Mahomet* was lean, weakly and unable for the Crown. *Bectas* having received this Meſſage from the Queen Regent, aſſembled a Council at *Orta-giami*, (that is the *Janizaries Moſch*) where was a great and ſolemn

ſolemn appearance both of the Souldiery and Lawyers, (which latter are of the ſpiritual function among them) ſome out of friendſhip to their party, and others for fear of their power; onely the Viſier was wanting, whom they ſent to invite, out of an opinion that he might be drawn to their ſide; and in caſe they found him oppoſite, then not to ſuffer him to eſcape alive from their Councils. It was then two hours in the night, when this Meſſage came to the Viſier; and though it was againſt the ſtate and gravity of a Viſier to go to any, but his Maſter; yet he thought it now time to diſſemble, and overcome the greatneſs of his mind; and ſo with a private Retinue went to the *Moſch*, where the firſt he encountred was a Guard of Ten thouſand *Janizaries*, armed with their Muskets and Matches lighted, which at firſt ſo diſmayed him, that he had ſome thoughts of returning, but afterwards recovering himſelf, and taking courage, reſolved to proceed; and coming to the *Moſch*, *Bectas* vouchſafed not to meet him, but ſent another to perform that Ceremony; at which neglect, though the greatneſs of his ſpirit could ſcarce contain it ſelf; yet ſuppreſſing his choler, he addreſſed himſelf to the feet of *Bectas*, who ſcarce ariſing gave him a faint welcome; and ſetting him on his left hand (which is the upper hand with the Turkiſh Souldiery) began to propound to him his new deſigns, and firſt, That it was neceſſary, that the preſent King ſhould be depoſed, and *Solyman* Crowned in his place. That the Canons of the Imperial *Seraglio* ſhould be reformed, and that whereas the Children of divers Nations were yearly collected for the ſervice of the Grand Signior, none ſhould for the future have admiſſion there, but the Sons of *Janizaries*: The Viſier conſented to all that was propoſed, profeſſing a ſincere affection and reality to them, and their party, ſwearing

ſwearing upon the *Alchoran*, with the moſt horrid imprecations on himſelf, and his Family, if he were not faithfull to him and his deſigns; which gave *Bectas* that ſatisfaction that he began to perſuade himſelf that the Viſier was really a confiding perſon, and one affectionate to their intereſt; and ſo partly from this conſideration, and partly out of a confidence of his own ſtrength, and inability of the Viſier to hurt him, fairly took his leave of him, and ſo diſmiſſed his *Kalaba Divan*, or his confuſed Council. But the *Chiachia Bei* (or Lieutenant-General of the *Janizaries*) and *Kara-Chiaus* reproved very much *Bectas* for permitting the Viſier to eſcape with his life, ſaying he had done ill in ſuffering the Bird to eſcape out of the Cage; that he had releaſed one, and permitted him to carry his head on his ſhoulders, who would ſhortly take off theirs; with many words of the like effect. But *Bectas* ſlighted their reproof, as proceeding from want of courage, and the ignorance of their own power; and that the time until morning was ſo ſhort, that ſhould the Viſier intend to countermine them, he was wholly unable, being unprovided both of Power and Counſel. The Viſier being got free, went apace to the *Seraglio*, with two Men onely, thanked God as he walked, that he was freed from the hands of thoſe Tyrants and Villains; and coming to the Iron-gate, intending to paſs through the Garden, he found it open contrary to the cuſtom; and enquiring of the *Boſtangees* or Gardiners the reaſon, he could learn nothing farther from them, than that it was the order of the old Queen: who (as it appeared afterwards) expected her Confidents who might withdraw her that night into ſome retirement where ſhe might remain ſecure from the dangers of the enſuing day. The Viſier being entred, went ſoftly to the *Sultans* Apartments, and in his way by good chance

chance met with the *Kuzlir Agaſi Solyman Aga*, the chief Eunuch of the Women, who in the dark was making his rounds about the old Queen's Lodgings; by the Viſier's voice *Solyman* knew who he was, but was amazed at his unſeaſonable viſit; yet underſtanding the buſineſs, thanked him for his Vigilance; adding that he had alſo obſerved that the old Queen, contrary to her cuſtome, was not yet gone to bed, who did at other times at two hours in the night diſpoſe her ſelf to reſt, onely this evening ſhe had entertained her ſelf in company of her Eunuchs, and Favourites, with Muſick, Singing, and other unuſual delights. Wherefore, after ſome ſhort deliberation, the Viſier, *Solyman Aga*, and others of the King's Eunuchs went to the quarters of the old Queen, and offering to enter forcibly, were repulſed by the Queen's Eunuchs; but *Solyman Aga* being a ſtout man drew his Dagger and ſtruck the chief Chamberlain *Baſh Kapa Oglar* on the face, upon which the other Eunuchs who accompanied *Solyman* entred furiouſly with their Daggers, at which the Eunuchs of the Queen flying, ſhe remained alone in the Chamber, where ſhe was committed to the cuſtody of the King's Eunuchs. The fugitive Eunuchs would immediately have eſcaped out of the *Seraglio*, but the Gates were firſt ſhut by order of *Solyman Aga*, ſo that they with all other favourites of the ſaid Queen were taken and ſecured in ſafe hands. This victory was ſo ſecretly obtained, that they received no Alarm in the Royal Lodgings, though near adjoining; ſo that the Viſier and *Solyman Aga* went to the Chamber where the King ſlept, and lifting up the Antiport, made a ſign of ſilence to the Ladies of the Guard, commanding by dumb motions that the young Queen ſhould be awakened (for it is the cuſtom in the Grand Signior's Court to ſpeak by ſigns, to prevent noiſe, and as if there were ſome

point

point in it of Majeſty and Decency, they have practiſed this mute language ſo fully, that they are able to recount ſtories in it.) The Ladies hereupon gently rubbing the Queen's feet, raiſed her out of her ſleep, and gave her to underſtand that *Solyman Aga* would ſpeak with her; whereat the Queen ſurprized leapt from her Bed to ſpeak with him, and was ſcarce informed of the buſineſs before ſhe became ſo affrighted, that ſhe could not contain her ſelf within the bounds of moderation or ſilence, but with great cry ran to take her Son as one diſtracted, and catching him up in her Armes, cried out, *O Son! thou and I are dead*; the grand Signior likewiſe as a Child bewailed himſelf, and falling at the feet of *Solyman Aga*, ſaid, *Lala*, *Lala Kurtar-beni*, which is, Tutor, Tutor ſave me: He not without Tears took his Lord into his Arms, and with the Viſier encouraged the Child and his Mother, proteſting that they would rather die, than live to behold ſo horrid a ruine; and ſo accompanied him, (ſome Ladies carrying before Torches lighted in their hands) to the *Hozoda*, which is the Preſence Chamber or place where the principal Officers of the Court attend. Upon the approach of the Torches, the Guard which watched in this Chamber was amazed, and walking towards the light to diſcover what there was, perceived that the Grand Signior was coming thither, and thereupon returned again with all haſte to awaken their Companions, and calling them immediately to repair to their due ſervice. The Grand Signior being ſeated on a Throne, which is always remaining in the Preſence Chamber; the Officers hereof (which are in number forty) preſented themſelves before him, deſiring to know if his Majeſty had any thing wherein to employ their Fidelity and Service. Hereat *Solyman Aga* ſaid, *He that eats the King's Bread, ſhould apply himſelf*

himſelf to the King's ſervice; we ſuffered the Traitors to deſtroy Sultan Ibrahim, *and now they would alſo take this out of our hands; To you it belongs, who are his Majeſty's Principal Servitors, to afford him your utmoſt aſſiſtance. Eiginſi Muſſapha Paſſa* Sword-bearer to the Grand Signior, and chief of the Preſence Chamber, a Man of a Lion's heart and undaunted reſolution underſtanding ſomething formerly of the bad inclinations of the old Queen towards the King, readily replied, *Great Maſter, be not troubled, to morrow you ſhall ſee (God willing) the Heads of your Enemies at your Feet.* The Viſier and others in the mean time after a ſhort Conſult fell to act, the exigency of their affairs admitting no delays; and in the firſt place, Pen and Ink being brought, an Order was preſented to the Grand Signior to be ſubſcribed for the arreſting the *Boſſangi-Paſha* as a Traitor, for having againſt the rule of the night kept open the Gate of the King's Garden. This was done in an inſtant, he removed from his Office and another conſtituted in his place, and at the ſame time the Oath of Allegiance was adminiſtred to him, who calling together the Gardiners in number about 500, cauſed them alſo all to ſwear faithfull obedience to the Grand Signior, and to remain all that night, keeping good Guard at the Gates and Walls of the Gardens. In the next place the *Ichoglans* were called up (who are the Grand Signior's Pages) and to proceed with the more privacy and leaſt confuſion, they went firſt to the Chamber of the *Capa Agaſi* (who by his Office is over all the Youth of the *Seraglio*) and knocking gently at the Window, the Guards came at the noiſe, and demanded what the matter was? they anſwered, Awake the *Capa Aga*, and let him ſpeak to us at the Window. But the *Capa Aga* would firſt know who they were that would ſpeak with him: and when it

was

was told him that it was the Viſier and the *Kuſtir Aga*, he anſwered, *I am indiſpoſed and cannot riſe*, but utter what you have to ſay at the Window; ſo they ſaid, *By his Majeſty's order go and raiſe all the* Ichoglans *in the* Seraglio, *upon an important occaſion*; and yet the *Capa Agaſi* would not ſtir, ſo that ſome believed him confederate in the Conſpiracy; but the truth was, he was an ancient Man of 90 years, and unhealthfull in his body. Wherefore *Solyman Aga* cried out with a loud voice, *Aga, raiſe the* Ichoglans, *our King is ready to be taken out of our hands*; but the *Capa Aga* perſiſted that he would not raiſe the *Ichoglans* or Pages, unleſs he brought a Command in writing from the King. In the interim the Servants of the *Capa Aga* awakened, and hearing this diſcourſe, could not contain themſelves, but without farther order ran to both the greater and leſſer Chamber of the Pages; the *Butler* came to that which is called the greater Chamber; it was then five hours in the night when he entred in, and running to the middle of the Chamber, which was 80 Paces in length, he made a ſtop and clapped his hands together; (To make ſuch a noiſe in the *Seraglio* at night was a high miſdemeanor) at which ſome being awakened, raiſed up their heads, and ſtartled at ſuch an unuſual alarm, enquired the reaſon of it; at which he again clapping his hands, and crying out, Ariſe, the Grand Signior is like to be taken out of our hands, the whole Chamber was raiſed; ſo that you might have ſeen all the *Ichoglans* in number above 600 to riſe and run in a confuſed manner, ſome without Cloaths, ſome without Arms to fight, ſome ſuppoſing the *Janizaries* were already entred the *Seraglio*. In this amaze came a Guard of Black and White Eunuchs to the door, adviſing them to arm themſelves with what weapons were next at hand, and there to remain untill they received farther Orders.

Orders. All the other Chambers of the Pages and Officers were in the ſame confuſion, and were commanded in the like manner to arm themſelves. The Grand Signior fearing all this while he ſhould be put to death as his Father was, could not be pacified untill *Muſtapha Paſha* his Sword-bearer taking him by the hand ſhewed him his Attendants all armed, and ready at his command; and paſſing by one of the Windows of the Lodgings, was deſcried by a young man, who cried out with a loud voice *(God grant our King Ten thouſand years of life)* at which all the Chamber ſhouted, * *Allah, Abah*; this Acclamation rang through all the *Seraglio*, ſo that it reached the more remote quarters of the *Drogiſts*, *Cooks*, *Pole-axe-men*, *Faulconers*, and others; who being ready and armed as the others, anſwered with the like ſhout.

* A Shout uſed by the *Turks* when they fight.

Theſe preparations were not onely in the *Seraglio*, but likewiſe without; for the Viſier had given order to all the *Paſhaws* and *Beglerbegs*, and other his Friends, that without delay they ſhould repair to the *Seraglio* with all the force they could make, bringing with them three days Proviſion, obliging them under pain of Death to this Duty. In a ſhort ſpace ſo great was this concourſe, that all the Gardens of the *Seraglio*, the outward Courts and all the adjoining Streets were filled with armed Men: from *Galata* and *Tophana* came Boats and Barges loaden with Powder and Ammunition and other neceſſaries; ſo that in the morning by break of day appeared ſuch an Army of Horſe and Foot in the Streets, and Ships and Gallies on the Sea, as adminiſtred no ſmall terrour to the *Janizaries*; of which being adviſed, and ſeeing the concourſe of the people run to the aſſiſtence of the King, they thought it high time to beſtir themſelves; and therefore armed a great company of *Albaneſes*, *Greeks*, and other Chriſtians, to whom

whom they offered Money, and the Title and Priviledges of *Janizaries*, promiſing to free them from *Harach*, or Impoſitions paid by the Chriſtians; which Arguments were ſo prevalent, that moſt taking Arms, you might ſee the Court and City divided, and ready to enter into a moſt dreadfull confuſion of a Civil War.

In the *Seraglio* all things were in good order, the Morning Devotions being finiſhed, the *Baltagees*, (who are a guard that carry Poleaxes) called to the Pages to join with them, and accompany them to the Preſence Chamber. Theſe *Baltagees* were in number about 200, ſtrong, of large ſtature, and of admirable agility; at whoſe beck the Pages ran with all alacrity to the door of the Chamber, where they at firſt received a repulſe from the Maſter of the Chamber who was an Eunuch, and one faithfull to the old Queens intereſt, who to yield all poſſible furtherance towards the protection of her Perſon, reproved the inſolence of the Rout in coming ſo boiſterouſly to the Royal Lodgings, to which they unanimouſly anſwered that they would ſpeak to his Majeſty, that it was their deſire to have the old Queen (Enemy to the King, and the *Mahometan* Faith) put to Death; at which words he being enraged, and relying on his Authority, reproved them with terms of Rebels and Traitors to their Maſter. *What have you to doe with the Queen*, ſaid he? *Are you worthy to open your mouths againſt her ſerene Name?* He reiterating theſe and the like words, one of this Rabble ſaid, *Kill that Cuckold, for he alſo is an Enemy of the Faith.* And whilſt one lifted up his hand to ſtrike him, he fled by the way of the *Tarras* into the Garden, whither being purſued by five or ſix of them, he was overtaken, and catching him by the collar would have cut his throat, but that at his earneſt entreaty they gave him ſo much liberty as firſt

to

to caſt himſelf at the feet of the *Sultan:* whither being dragged, he delivered to the King a Seal and a Key of ſecret Treaſure, and being about to ſay ſomething in his own behalf and defence of his life, a bold Youth of theſe *Baltagees* called *Jalch-Leferli* ſtruck him on the head with his Ax, and cleft it in two pieces; the others ſeeing this firſt blow given him, fell on him with their Scimiters and cut him to pieces; his bloud and brains were daſhed on the rich Carpets, which moved fear in many, who were ſecretly of the Conſpiracy with the old Queen. The young King himſelf, ignorant of the good intentions of his Servants, at the ſight of bloud-ſhed, being yet tender-hearted, cryed and cloſely embraced the *Selihtar* who then held him in his arms; but upon the removal of the Corpſe out of his ſight, and ſome ſmooth words, as that it was a ſacrifice of love to him, and the like, his childiſh tears were ſoon wiped away. In this interim the new created *Mufti* and *Kenan Paſha* one of the Viſiers of the Bench, and *Balyzade Efende*, who was formerly Lord Chief Juſtice, and well affected to the *Spahee*'s party, entring the *Hazoda* or Preſence-Chamber, perceiving a tumult in his Majeſty's preſence with different voices and languages, for ſome cryed in *Georgian*, others *Albanian*, *Boſnian*, *Mengrelian*, *Turkiſh* and *Italian*, remained in great confuſion how to proceed with order and reaſon in this important affair; for the *Mufti* and others were of opinion that the Sentence againſt the old Queen was not raſhly to be pronounced, and ſo the matter might calmly be debated, and if poſſible, an expedient might be found for ſaving her life, and ſecuring the *Sultan:* But the Rabble impatient of delay, cryed out, defer not the Sentence; for otherwiſe we ſhall eſteem thee as one of her Adherents. By this time news was come to the young Queen, that there

had been a fight in the Streets; who as yet doubtfull of the ſucceſs, and fearing if the *Janizaries* ſhould gain the advantage, *Bellas* would revenge the bloud of the old Queen by her death, came covered with a Veil into the Preſence Chamber, ſaying as ſhe paſſed, *Is this the Reverence you owe to the King your Lord? Do you know the place where you are? What would you have of a Woman? Why do you buſie your ſelves in the King's Affairs?* Some preſently apprehended that this was onely a Plot of the young Queen to make the World believe ſhe would rather aſſiſt the Grandmother, than contrive againſt her; which made the Pages the more importunately to perſiſt with the *Mufti* for the *Fetfa* or ſentence againſt her. But one of the Pages ſuſpecting that this Woman ſo veiled, might be the old Queen her ſelf, cryed out, *This is ſhe you ſeek for; ſhe is in your hands, take your Revenge upon her.* At which ſome beſtirring themſelves to ſeiſe her, ſhe ran to the feet of her Son, and laying hold on him, cryed out, *No, no, I am not the Grandmother, I am the Mother of this his Majeſty*; and wiping the tears from the eyes of her Son with her Handkerchief, made ſigns to keep back, which reſtrained the forwardneſs of ſome who preſſed to lay violent hands upon her. The *Mufti*, who obſerved the carriage of the Rout, and their earneſt deſires which could not be reſiſted, feared, if he gave not his concurrence, he himſelf ſhould be killed, and the rather becauſe he over-heard the old *Kenan Paſha* diſcourſe with the Viſier to the like effect. So that after ſome pauſe and conſultation with the other chief Miniſters, it was reſolved to ſupplicate his Majeſty for his conſent; which was done in theſe words; *Sir, The will of God is, that you conſign your Grandmother into the hands of Juſtice, if you would have theſe Mutinies appeaſed; a little miſchief is better than a great one;*

there

there is no other Remedy, God willing the end ſhall be proſperous. Pen and Ink being brought, the *Mufti* wrote the Sentence, and the Grand Signior ſubſcribed it, which was that the old Queen ſhould be ſtrangled, but neither cut with Sword, nor bruiſed with blows. The writing was delivered into the hands of one of the Chamberlains, to whom by word of mouth it was ordered that they ſhould carry the Queen out by *Cuſhana*, (or the Gate of the Birds) ſo as ſhe might not die in ſight or hearing of the Grand Signior. The *Ichoglans* advancing the *Royal Command* on high with their hands, went out of the Preſence with a great ſhout, crying, *Allah*, *Allah*, to the door of the Womens Lodgings, where they met ſome black Eunuchs keeping guard, who upon the ſight of the *Imperial Firme*, and the command of *Solyman Aga*, gave them admittance, upon condition that twenty perſons onely ſhould enter the Chambers. Thoſe who were beſt armed went in, and paſſing through the Chambers of the Virgins, were met by the Queen's *Buffone* with a Piſtol in her hand, who demanded what they would have, they anſwered, the King's Grandmother; ſhe replied, I am ſhe, and with that offered to diſcharge her Piſtol, but it took fire onely in the Pan; with that the *Ichoglans* laid hold on her, ſuppoſing her to be the Queen; but being better adviſed by *Solyman* the *Kuzlir Aga*, and directed to the Chamber where the Queen was; the door being opened, they perceived the Room to be dark (for the Womens quarters in the *Seraglio* for the moſt part are made obſcure and cloſe, and Lights are burnt in them day and night) and the old Queen had at the approach of theſe Officers extinguiſhed her Candles and got into a great Preſs, and there covered her ſelf with Quilts and Carpets; but Torches being brought in, they looked all about, and deſcryed nothing; at

which they were enraged againſt *Solyman*, and would have killed him, ſaying, That he was the cauſe the Queen had eſcaped. But *Solyman* adviſing them to ſearch more narrowly, one called *Deli Dogangi*, got upon the Preſs, and removing the Clothes, diſcovered the Queen, who had thruſt her ſelf into a corner; at which ſhe ſhortly thus entreats him, *O brave man be not cruel unto me*; and promiſed ſhe would give to every *Ichoglan* five Purſes a man (each Purſe conſiſting of 500 Dollars) if they would ſave her life. *It is not the time of Ranſome, Traitor*, ſaid he; and taking her by the feet, drew her forth, the Queen riſing up, put her hand into her Pocket, and threw out handfulls of *Zaichins*, hoping that whilſt they were ſcrambling for the Gold ſhe might have an opportunity to eſcape; ſome of the young men gathered up the money, but the *Dogangi*, like a Dog of the Game, left her not, and at length, though ſhe were heavy, caſt her down. The others offered at her life, and particularly an *Albaneſe*, called *Ali Boſtangi*, who ſeeing two great Jewels at her ears, immediately catched at them, and tore them thence. They were two Diamonds of the bigneſs of Cheſnuts cut angularly, and beneath each Diamond was a Ruby to ſet it off. Thoſe Earrings were given her by *Sultan Achmet* in the time of her moſt flouriſhing Age, and his greateſt affection. 'Tis ſaid that ſuch Jewels cannot be found in all the Great *Turks* Treaſure, and were eſteemed by the moſt skilfull Jewellers worth a years Revenue of Grand *Cairo*. This *Ali* ſhewed the Jewels to his Camrade, demanding the value of them, and his counſel whether to reveal or conceal them: but the Camrade prized them at that rate, that the ſtout young Man could not ſleep day nor night, being always in fear leſt the Jewels ſhould not be kept hid; and apprehending that they became none but the Grand

Grand Signior to wear, went and delivered them to *Solyman Aga*, who in recompence thereof, preſented him with 16 *Zaichins*, which he accepted, deſiring alſo to be admitted into the Chamber of the Treaſury, which was granted him. Others alſo plucked her, ſome by the hands, others by the feet, ſome rifled her Clothes, for ſhe was furniſhed throughout with things of great value ſewed in her Garments, and eſpecially in her Sable Furs, which contain'd alſo certain Magick Spells, by which ſhe conceived ſhe had tied the tongues of all the Emperours living in her time. The perſon who gave me this Relation, informed me, that he had ſeen a certain Lock admirably made, and engraved with the Names of *Murad* and *Sultan Ibrahim*; it was made by a famous *Gindgi*, a very ignorant Fellow, but a ſuperſtitious crafty Liar, by which Arts finding acceſs, in ſhort time he became a chief Favourite of *Sultan Ibrahim*, and from a poor Student called by the *Turks* a *Softa*, he grew ſo rich in two years that none in *Conſtantinople* was comparable to him.

But to return to the Queen now aſſaulted by furious young Men, greedy of Riches; ſhe was in a moment deſpoiled of her Garments; her Furs were torn off into ſmall pieces; and being ſtript of her Rings, Bracelets, Garters and other things, ſhe was left naked without a Rag to cover her, and dragged by the feet to the *Cuſhana:* and being at the place of her execution, the young Officers found themſelves unprovided of a Cord to ſtrangle her, ſo that crying out for a Cord, one ran to the Royal Chapel, and thence took the Cord that upheld the great Antiport of the *Moſch*, which being twined about the Queen's neck, the aforeſaid *Dogangi* getting upon her back, pitched her neck with his hands, whilſt the others drew the Cord. The Queen, though ſhe

were by this time beſides her Senſes, and worn out with Age, being above 80 years old, and without Teeth; yet ſhe with her Gums onely did bite the thumb of his left hand, which by chance came into her mouth, ſo hard that he could not deliver himſelf untill with the haft of his Poniard he ſtruck her on the forehead near her right eye. There were four that ſtrangled her, but being young Executioners, laboured long to diſpatch her, till at length the Queen leaving to ſtruggle, lay ſtretched out, and was ſuppoſed to be dead, and ſo crying *(Vldi, Vldi)* ſhe is dead, ſhe is dead, ran to carry the news thereof to his Majeſty; but being ſcarce out of ſight, the Queen raiſed her ſelf up, and turned her head about; upon which the Executioners being again called back, the Cord was a ſecond time applied, and wrung ſo hard with the haft of a hatchet, that at length ſhe was diſpatched, and the news carried to the Royal Chamber. The black Eunuchs immediately took up the Corpſe, and in a reverend manner laid it ſtretched forth in the Royal Moſch; which about 400 of the Queen's Slaves encompaſſing round about with howling and lamentations, tearing the hair from their heads after their barbarous faſhion, moved compaſſion in all the Court.

This work being over, the Viſier having given thanks to the *Ichoglans* or Pages for their pains, gave order to produce the Banner of *Mahomet*, which is carefully and reverently kept in the Treaſury; which being produced, obliges all of that Faith from ſeven years and upward to arm and come under it. The Banner being brought forth with a rich Covering, was advanc'd with great ſhouts of *Allah, Allah:* and carried by the *Ichoglans* out of the chief Gate of the *Seraglio*, where it was ſhewn to the People, who with wonderfull admiration and devotion beheld

held their glorious Standard; order was alſo given to proclaim through the whole City the Proceſſion of the Heavenly Banner; for they ſay that the Angel *Gabriel* brought it to *Mahomet* in the time of a great War made againſt the Chriſtians, as an infallible ſign and evidence of Victory. The opinion of this ſuperſtitious Flag ſo prevailed, as it brought not onely the young and healthfull to fight under it, but ſick and old, and women judged themſelves obliged to run to the defence of this holy Enſign. The news hereof, and the death of the old Queen coming to the old Chamber of the *Janizaries*; ſeveral of them, and thoſe alſo of the principal Heads began to murmure, that it was now neceſſary to lay aſide their private intereſts, and have a reſpect to their Faith and their Souls; for ſhould they oppoſe the heavenly Banner, they ſhould run themſelves into the State of Gaurs and Infidels, and become liable to the ſame cenſure or puniſhment which is inflicted upon unbelievers. But in the new Chambers *Bectas* endeavoured to remove this apprehenſion from the mind of his Souldiers, by large Preſents both of Gold and Silver, perſwading them to uphold their Fame and Reputation; for that the Grand Signior and his Mother were enemies to their name and deſigns, and reſolved to abaſe or deſtroy the order of that Militia; and with aſſurance of victory and encouragement againſt a people unarmed and undiſciplined, animated them to fight; and to make the buſineſs more eaſie, adviſed them to fire the City in ſeveral parts, that ſo the people might be diverted and divided for ſafety of their own goods and dwellings. But this propoſition took not with the Officers and Souldiers, who had many of them Houſes and Poſſeſſions of their own in *Conſtantinople*, but put them into great diſtractions and diviſions in their Counſels. In this pauſe came an Officer from

the Grand Signior (who to venture his life, had the promiſe of a good reward) with a command in Writing which he threw in amongſt them, and galloped away as faſt as he could; crying out as he rode, *He that comes not under the Banner of the Prophet is a Pagan, and his Wife divorced.* The Writing was taken up and carried to the preſence of the principal Officers, which being opened and read, was to this purpoſe; Bectas Aga *I have made* Paſha *of* Boſna, Kara-chiaus *I have made Captain-General of the Sea*; Kul-kahya *I have made* Paſha *of* Temiſwar; *and* Kara Haſſan Ogle *I have made* Janizar Agaſi; *and I require at ſight of theſe Preſents, that every one of you upon pain of death and ruine of his Family, repair to his duty and ſtation.* In this inſtant came news that the old Chamber of *Janizaries* had left their ſtation and were run under the Banner without Arms, and had refuſed *Bectas*'s Money and deſerted his Cauſe, and that the *Spahees* in great Troops and the *Jebegees* (who command the Ordnance) approached with Artillery to beat upon their Chambers. The *Spahees* came thundring in upon the *Janizaries* in remembrance of their paſt injuries, and had certainly cut them off, had not the Viſier with his Sword in his hand by good and bad words reſtrained them and appeaſed their animoſity. The *Janizaries* of the new Chamber proclaimed their new Commander, and viſited him with their uſual form of Congratulation, running afterwards confuſedly under the Banner. *Kara Haſſan* the new elected *Aga* of the *Janizaries*, went to the *Seraglio* to thank the Grand Signior for the honour done him, and with ten of his principal Friends was admitted to the Grand Signior's Preſence; who humbly kiſſing the ground, received the accuſtomed Veſts, and with ſome admonitions was fairly diſmiſſed, and ordered to reduce his *Janizaries* to better obedience. By this

this time *Bectas*, *Kulkahya* and *Kara Chiaus* with ſome of their Favourites remained wholly abandoned looking one upon the other, full of complaints and railings, each at other for the miſcarriage of the action. But ſince it was not now time to condole but to ſave their lives, every one made to his houſe. Firſt *Bectas* fled to his home, where having ordered his Affairs, he clothed himſelf in the *Albanian* faſhion, and eſcaped to the houſe of a poor Man formerly his Friend and Confident; but the next day being diſcovered by a Youth, was taken, and being ſet on a Mule, was with the ſcorn and deriſion of the people conducted to the Grand Signior's *Seraglio*, and there ſtrangled. This perſon was held in ſo much deteſtation by the common people, that after his death the Cooks and inferiour ſort of Servants run Spits and Pitch-forks through his body; and plucking the hairs out of his beards, ſent them for Preſents to their acquaintance through all *Conſtantinople*, ſaying, *Theſe are the hairs of that Traitour, who gloried, that before he would loſe his Head, there ſhould be raiſed a Mountain of Heads as high as S.ª* Sophia. But *Kulkahya* being come to his houſe, filled his Portmantles with Gold and Jewels, and accompanied with 60 Horſe, reſolved to fly to the Mountains of *Albania*, places ſo inacceſſible, that they have never yielded to the *Turkiſh* yoke: but finding himſelf hotly purſued in his Journey, and that it was impoſſible to eſcape with ſo great a number, freely diſtributed a great part of his Gold upon his Retinue, and thanking them for their affection and good intentions, diſmiſſed them all excepting one Servant, with whom he journied with four laden Horſes with Gold, Jewels and other Riches; and perceiving that this alſo was too great an incumbrance, they buried a Treaſure to the value of 600 thouſand Dollars in the Countrey as they travelled; which

which was afterwards found out by certain Shepherds, who diſagreeing about the diviſion thereof, the matter came to be known to the Judge of that Countrey, who ſeiſed upon it all, and ſent it to the Grand Signior's Treaſury. But *Kulkahya* travelling ſtill farther with his ſingle Page, came to a Town, where wanting Bread, and forced for the payment of it to exchange Gold, fell into a ſuſpicion of being one of thoſe Rebels lately eſcaped from *Conſtantinople*; which news being brought to a Captain of Horſe that commanded the place, he came immediately with ſome men to take him; but *Kulkahya* reſolving not to fall into their hands alive, reſiſted them untill he was killed by a Musket-ſhot, and ſo his head being ſevered from his body, was ſent to the Grand Signior. *Kara Chiaus* in this interim being with 200 men retired into his Garden, was aſſaulted by an *Aga* of the *Spahees* (called *Parmakſis*) with 500 men; but that this enterpriſe might be acquired with a little bloud, a perſon was ſent ſecretly to adviſe that party, that if they oppoſed the Royal Command, they ſhould every one be put to death; at which the people fled and diſperſed themſelves. At that inſtant came in this *Aga* and took him, and yet comforted him with the clemency and mercy of the Grand Signior, promiſing alſo himſelf to intercede for him. And ſo bringing him to the *Seraglio* by the Garden Gate, his Majeſty had notice of it, and looking out of the Window and ſeeing him upon his knees begging pardon, the Grand Signior gave a ſign to the Executioner to ſtrangle him, which was accordingly performed. The new *Janizar Aga* who knew all the Officers, formerly affected to the rebellious Party, for ſeveral nights cauſed ſome or other of them to be ſtrangled, to the number of 38 perſons; which ſtruck ſuch a terrour into the *Janizaries*, that for a long time

time after they kept themſelves within the bounds of humility and obedience. And thus concluded this Tragedy, remarkable as well for the diſpatch as for the action it ſelf, being but the work of fourteen hours. And in this manner it is apparent, how the leſſons of obedience which are ſo carefully taught, and inſtilled into the minds of thoſe who ſerve and depend upon the Grand Signior are corrupted; and by the Pride, Diſcord and Faction of the Governours ſeduced from their natural Principles.

By the premiſſes we may conſider more generally, that it hath always been the misfortune of unlimited powers to be ſubject to dangers and violence, ariſing from the diſcontents and unconſtancy of the Souldiery: for they coming to be ſenſible of their own ſtrength, and knowing that the power of the Emperour is but fortified with their hands and heart, like unruly beaſts throw their Riders, and ſhew that the Principles of obedience taught them, are eaſily corrupted and defaced by evil perſwaſions, or ſedition in a Commander or common Souldier. Thus we ſee in the time of the latter *Roman* Emperours, who uſurped power unknown in the days of the pure and happy Conſtitution of that Commonwealth, and governed all by the Sword and their own Luſts; few of them ended their days fortunately, or died in their beds and peace, without becoming a Sacrifice to the ſame power that firſt proclaimed them Emperours. And though the Mutinies and Rebellions in the *Turkiſh* Militia can hardly operate any durable alteration in the State (as we ſhall more at large hereafter diſcourſe) yet doubtleſs the Tyranny in the *Ottoman* Emperours, had provoked the people long ſince to have proved the benefit of another Race, but that there is a ſtrange kind of Devotion and Religion in their minds as to the *Ottoman* Bloud,

Bloud, which having been the original of their Empire and Greatneſs, will ever be maintained in high reverence and honour. Nor is it likely that the fair Speeches and Allurements of a rebellious Slave will ever prevail to perſwade this people from their Religion to this Prince, or that their Arms can ever be proſperous under the Enſign and Conduct of an Uſurper. And may all Chriſtians learn this Leſſon from the *Turks*, and add this principle to the Fundamentals of their Religion, as well as to their Laws. None can more experimentally preach this Doctrine to the World than *England*, who no ſooner threw off her Obedience and Religion to her Prince, but (as if that vertue had been the onely bar to all other Enormities and Sins) ſhe was deprived of all other Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Rights, and in all her capacities and relations deflowred and prophaned by impious and unhallowed hands.

And thus having given a Relation of the *Turks* Religion and firſt Principles in order to their obedience to their Prince, let us proceed a little into the *penetralia* of the *Seraglio*, and there ſee what farther care is taken of the Youth, in all points of their *Education*, to fit and prepare them for the management and performance of the higheſt and weightieſt Offices of State; which I judge to be one of the chiefeſt of the *Turkiſh* Polities, and is certainly an extraordinary ſupport and ſecurity of the Empire.

CHAP.



A page of the Hazoda 29:P



Tulbentar Aga or he who makes the Grand Signors Turbant

CHAP. V.

The Education of young Men in the Seraglio, *out of which thoſe who are to diſcharge the great Offices of the Empire are elected. It being a Maxim of the* Turkiſh Polity, *to have the Prince ſerved by ſuch whom he can raiſe without Envy, and deſtroy without Danger.*

IT is a ſpecial point of Wiſedom in Princes, to provide and prefer men of deſerving Parts and Abilities to the diſcharge of the great and important Offices of State, not ſuch whom chance and fortune caſually throws on them, becauſe they will not take the pains of a narrow and ſevere ſcrutiny to ſeek men able and fit for truſt; nor ſuch whom flattery, riches, gifts or nobility promote, but thoſe whom the Prince by his own experience of their wiſedom, vertues and diligence, or the teſtimony of his Councellours and other Confidents, judges capable to improve their advancement to the honour of the King, and the bleſſing of their Countrey: and not like vaſt Mountains which hide their heads in the Clouds, and yet remain without fruit or herbage; whoſe barrenneſs makes their height accurſed. Some wiſe Princes, and great Miniſters of our modern times, have kept Rolls and Regiſters of the moſt eminent Men famed for their vertue, and knowledge in any parts, with an account of their Family, lineage, and condition, out of which (if in their own juriſdiction) they culled and elected ſuch, proper for their occaſions and vacant Offices.

Balzac de la Cour, leur ſterilete fait manudire leur elevation. Cardinal *Richlieu.*

The

The *Turk* is no leſs carefull in the choice of his Officers, and loves to be ſerved by his own, ſuch as to whom he hath given breeding, and education, and are obliged to employ thoſe parts in his ſervice which he hath beſtowed, whoſe minds he hath cultivated with wiſedom and vertue, as well as nouriſhed their bodies with food, untill they arrive to a mature age, that renders the profit of his care and expence; ſuch as theſe he is ſerved by, whom he can raiſe without envy, and deſtroy without danger.

The Youths then that are deſigned for the great Offices of the Empire, called by the *Turks Ichoglans*, muſt be ſuch as are of Chriſtian Parents, taken in War, or preſented from remote parts; as I have obſerved that the *Algierines*, always amongſt other Gifts, preſent ſome Youths whom they have taken by Piracy; the policy herein is very obvious, becauſe the Sons of Chriſtians will hate their Parents being educated with other Principles and Cuſtoms; or coming from diſtant places have contracted no acquaintance, ſo that ſtarting from their Schools into Government, they will find no Relations or Dependences on their Intereſts than that of their great Maſter, to whom they are taught, and neceſſity compels them to be faithfull. In the next place, theſe Youths muſt be of admirable features, and pleaſing looks, well ſhaped in their bodies, and without any defects of nature; For it is conceived that a corrupt and ſordid Soul can ſcarce inhabit in a ſerene and ingenious Aſpect; and I have obſerved, not onely in the *Seraglio*, but alſo in the Courts of great men, their perſonal attendants have been of comely luſty Youths, well habited, deporting themſelves with ſingular modeſty and reſpect in the preſence of their Maſter: So that when a *Paſcha*, *Aga*, *Spahee* travels, he is always attended with a comely

Migraque eſt comitum æmulatio, quibus primus apud principem ſuum locus, & Principum cui plurimi & acerrimi comites. Hæc dignitas, hæ vires, Magno ſemper electorum juvenum globo circundari, in pace decus, in bello præſidium.

comely equipage, followed by flouriſhing Youths, well cloathed and mounted in great numbers, that one may gueſs at the greatneſs of this Empire, by the retinue, pomp and number of ſervants which accompany Perſons of Quality in their Journies; whereas in the parts of Chriſtendom where I have travelled, I have not obſerved (no not in attendance of Princes) ſuch oſtentation in Servants as is amongſt the *Turks*, which is the life and ornament of a Court. And this was always the cuſtome in the Eaſtern Countries, as *Q. Curtius* reports, *Lib.* 6. *Quippe, omnibus barbaris in corporum Majeſtate veneratio eſt, magnorumque operum non alios capaces putant, quam quos eximiâ ſpecie donare natura dignata eſt.* But theſe Youths before they are admitted, are preſented before the Grand Signior, whom according to his pleaſure he diſpoſes in his *Seraglio* at *Pera*, or *Adrianople*, or his great *Seraglio* at *Conſtantinople*, which is accounted the Imperial Seat of the *Ottoman* Emperours. For theſe are the three Schools or Colleges of Education. Thoſe that are preferred to the laſt named, are commonly marked out by ſpecial deſignation, and are a nearer ſtep to degrees of Preferment, and are delivered to the charge of the *Capi Aga*, or chief of the white Eunuchs. The Eunuchs have the care of theſe Scholars committed unto them, whom they treat with an extraordinary ſeverity; for theſe, being the *Cenſores morum*, puniſh every ſlight omiſſion or fault with extreme rigour. For Eunuchs are naturally cruel, whether it be out of envy to the Maſculine Sex which is perfect and entire; or that they decline to the diſpoſition of Women, which is many times more cruel and revengefull than that of Men; they will not let ſlip the ſmalleſt *Peccadillo* without its due chaſtiſement, either by blows on the ſoals of the feet, or long faſtings, watchings, or other penance; ſo that he who

who hath run through the ſeveral Schools, Orders and Degrees of the *Seraglio*, muſt needs be an extraordinary mortified Man, patient of all labours, ſervices and injunctions, which are impoſed on him with a ſtrictneſs beyond the diſcipline that religious Novices are acquainted with in Monaſteries, or the ſeverity of *Capuchins*, or holy Votaries. But yet methinks theſe men that have been uſed all their lives to ſervitude and ſubjection, ſhould have their ſpirits abaſed, and when licenſed from the *Seraglio* to places of Truſt and Government, ſhould be ſo acquainted how to obey, as to be ignorant how to Rule, and to be dazled with the light and liberty, and overjoyed with the ſenſe of their preſent condition and paſt ſufferings, paſſing from one extreme to another, that they ſhould loſe their Reaſons, and forget themſelves and others. But in anſwer hereunto the *Turks* affirm, That none know ſo well how to govern, as thoſe who have learned how to obey; though at firſt the ſenſe of their freedom may diſtract them, yet afterwards the diſcipline, lectures and morality in their younger years, will begin to operate, and collect their ſcattered ſenſes into their due and natural places. But to return from whence we have a little digreſſed; Theſe young men before they are diſpoſed into their Schools, which are called *Oda*, their Names, Age, Countrey and Parents are Regiſtred in a Book, with their allowance from the Grand Signior of four Aſpers a day; the Copy of this Book is ſent to the *Teſterdar*, or Lord Treaſurer, that ſo quarterly they may receive their Penſion.

Oda ſignifies a Chamber.

Being thus admitted, they are entred into one of the two Schools, that is to ſay into the *Bojuck Oda*, which is the great Chamber, or the leſs; the former commonly contains 400, and the other about 200 or 250, theſe two Schools may be ſaid to be

The two *Odaes*.

of

of the ſame form or rank; and what is taught in one, is likewiſe in the other; neither of them hath the precedency; all of them equally near to Preferment; their firſt Leſſons are ſilence, reverence, humble and modeſt behaviour, holding their heads downwards, and their hands acroſs before them; their Maſters the *Hogias* inſtruct them in all the rights, diſcipline and ſuperſtition of the *Mahometan* Religion, and to ſay their prayers, and underſtand them in the *Arabick* Language, and to ſpeak, reade, and write *Turkiſh* perfectly. Afterwards having made proficiency in the former, they proceed in the ſtudy of the *Perſian* and *Arabick* Tongues, which may be of benefit to them if their lot chance to call them to the Government of the Eaſtern parts, and is a help to the improvement of their knowledge in the *Turkiſh*, which being of it ſelf barren, is beholding to thoſe Tongues for its copiouſneſs and enrichment.

Cloathing and other neceſſaries.

Their Cloathing is good *Engliſh* Cloth and Linen, neither fine nor courſe; their Diet is chiefly Rice, and other wholeſome Meats which become the Table of Scholars, where there is nothing of ſuperfluity, as there is nothing of want: Their manners and behaviour are ſtrictly watched by the Eunuchs their carefull Guardians, ſo as they cannot be familiar one with another at any time without modeſty, and reſpect to the preſence they are in; if they go to perform the neceſſary offices of Nature, or to the Bath, they are never out of the eye of an Eunuch, who will admit none of their neareſt relations to ſpeak with them, or ſee them, unleſs ſpecial Licenſe be obtained from the *Capa Aga* or chief of the Eunuchs. Their Bed-chambers are long Chambers where all night Lamps are kept burning; their Beds are laid in ranks one by another upon *Safrawes* or Boards raiſed from the ground; and

Their retirement. Bed-chambers.

between every five or ſix lies an Eunuch, ſo as conveniently to ſee or over-hear if there be any wanton or lewd behaviour or diſcourſe amongſt them.

When they are arrived to ſome proficiency, and almoſt to Man's eſtate and ſtrength of body, fit for manly exerciſes, they are trained up in handling the Lance, throwing the Iron Bar, drawing the Bow, and throwing the Gerit or Dart. In all theſe exerciſes they ſpend many hours, being conſtant in all or ſome of them, and are ſeverely corrected by their Eunuch if they ſeem to be remiſs or negligent therein: many of them ſpend much time principally in drawing the Bow, in which they proceed from a weaker to one more ſtrong, and by continual exerciſe and uſe come at laſt to draw Bows of an incredible ſtrength, more by art and cuſtome than of pure force; and thus by conſtant bodily exerciſe they become men of great ſtrength, health, and agility, fit for Wars, and all active employments: Amongſt their other exerciſes, Horſemanſhip is a principal Leſſon, both to ſit in a handſome poſture, and to manage their Horſe with dexterity; to draw the Bow on Horſeback forwards, backwards, and on either ſide, which they learn with that agility and pliantneſs of their joints in the full carriere or ſpeed of the Horſe as is admirable; they learn alſo to throw the Gerit or Dart out of their hands on Horſeback, which becauſe it is a ſport or recreation the preſent Grand Signior delights in above all others, every one in hopes of preferment, and in emulation one of the other, endeavours to be a Maſter in it, and moſt are become ſo dexterous, that they will dart a ſtick of above three quarters of a yard long with that force, that where it hits it will endanger breaking of a bone. The Grand Signior every day paſſes his time with ſeeing his Pages exerciſed in this ſport, in which ordinarily one knocks

Horſemanſhip.

The Dart or Gerit.

an-



Sclictar Aga or Sword bearer



Ebrictar Aga or he that brings the bason to the Grand Signior

another from his Horſe, and ſeldom a day paſſes in which ſome receive not bruiſes or deſperate wounds. This *Sultan* doth many times appoint days of Combat between the Black Eunuchs and ſome of his White Pages on Horſeback, in this manner with the Gerit; and then happens ſuch a skirmiſh with ſuch emulation, each ſide contending for the honour of his colour, race and dignity, with that heat and courage, as if they contended for the Empire; this paſtime ſeldom concluding without ſome bloud. But it is to be noted, that none of theſe exerciſes are performed by any of thoſe that belong to the two Chambers, unleſs within the Walls of the *Seraglio*; the other Pages who accompany the Grand Signior abroad, are ſuch as are preferred to farther and higher Chambers, as hereafter we ſhall diſcourſe. To the former Leſſons of School-learning and exerciſe abroad, are added ſome other accompliſhments of a Trade, Handy-craft or Myſtery, in which a man may be uſefull to the ſervice of the Grand Signior, as to ſew and embroider in Leather (in which the *Turks* exceed all other Nations) to make Arrows, and embroider Quivers and Saddles, and make all ſorts of Furniture for Horſes; ſome learn to fold up a Turbant, others to fold up, clean and bruſh Veſts; to waſh and clean in the Bath, to keep Dogs and Hawks; others to excell in the Turkiſh manner of Muſick, and all other ſervices which may keep them from idleneſs, and wherein they may be of future uſe to their great Maſter. And according hereunto *Paſhaes* and great men have been denominated and ſurnamed after their departure from the *Seraglio* to their places of Office and Truſt.

Such as have before made good proficiency in their Studies, and attained to a dexterity in their bodily exerciſes, are tranſplanted to the firſt ſtep of Pre-

ferment, which is the waſhing the Grand Signiors Linen, and here they firſt change their Cloth for Satten Veſts and Cloth of Gold, and their Pay and Salary is augmented from four or five Aſpers a day to eight or more; thence they paſs, as places fall, to the *Hazna-Oda*, or Chamber of the Treaſury, or to the *Kilar* or Diſpenſatory, where the Drugs, Cordials and rich Drinks for the Grand Signiors ſervice are kept; out of thoſe two Chambers they are elected in order to the higheſt and Supreme place in the *Seraglio*, which is called the *Haz Oda*, which conſiſts of 40 Pages; theſe attend immediately on the Perſon of the Grand Signior, and amongſt them twelve hold the chief Offices of the Court, *viz.*

1. The *Selictar-Aga*, the King's Sword-bearer.
2. The *Chiohadar-Aga*, he who carries his Cloak or Veſt for rainy weather.
3. The *Rechinthar-Aga*, he that holds his Stirrup.
4. The *Ebrictar-Aga*, he that carries his Water to drink or waſh.
5. The *Tulbentar-Aga*, he that makes up his *Turbant*.
6. The *Kem Huſar-Aga*, he who keeps the Wardrobe: and overſees the waſhing the Linen.
7. The *Cheſneghir Baſhee*, the chief Sewer.
8. *Zagergee Baſhee*, the chief over the Dogs.
9. *Turnackgee Baſhee*, he who pairs his Nails.
10. *Berber Baſhee*, chief Barber.
11. *Muhaſebegee Baſhee*, the chief Accomptant.
12. *Teskeregee Baſhee*, his Secretary.

There are alſo two other Officers in the Court of great reſpect, which are the *Dogan Baſhee*, or chief Falconer, and the *Humaungee Baſhee*, or chief over the

the Baths; but theſe have their Offices and Lodgings apart, and not entring into the Royal Chamber, are not capable of higher preferment.

There are nine alſo are called *Ars Agalar*, who have the Privilege of preſenting Petitions like Maſters of the Requeſts; of theſe, four are of the *Haſoda* as the *Shiletar-Aga*, *Tchohadar-Aga*, *Rikiabrar-Aga*, *Tulbend Oglanii*, and the others are of different Offices, as the *Hazna Kiahaiaſi*, who is the ſecond Officer of the Treaſury, *Kiler Kiahaiaſi*, who is Overſeer of the Proviſions of *Sherbets*, Sugar, Sweetmeats, &c. *Dogangi Baſhi*, or chief Falconer, the *Hazodabaſchi*, or principal Commander of the Royal Chamber, and *Kapa Agaſi* or chief Commander of the Pages; all which are firſt and neareſt to preferment, and to be employed abroad, in the Office of *Pacha*, as places are void.

Thoſe that are thus through the grace and favour of the *Sultan* arrived to the dignity of being of the Royal Chamber, where they enjoy the honour and privilege of being conſtantly in his Eye and Preſence, are often preſented by him with Swords, Veſts, Bows, and the like; and are permitted to take Rewards, for the interceſſions and applications they make in behalf of others. Sometimes he ſends them on meſſage to *Paſhees*; ſometimes for the confirmation of the Princes either in *Tranſilvania*, *Moldavia* or *Walachia*; ſometimes to carry Preſents to the Viſier and great Men: in all which Employments they are greatly entertained both with Money, Jewels, and rich Furniture for Horſes; ſo that very few of theſe Forty, but in a ſhort time gain Eſtates of their own, fit to equippe and furniſh them to enter into any Offices of the Empire. As offices fall in order, ſupplies are made out of theſe, others ariſing from lower Chambers ſucceſſively in their places; whether it be to the four

The degrees of ſucceſſions greatly obſerved.

four moſt conſiderable Governments, which are *Cairo*, *Aleppo*, *Damaſcus* and *Buda*, or if none of theſe places be void, to be *Beglerbegs* of *Grecia*, or of *Natolia*, to be *Aga* of the *Janizaries*, *Spaheeler Agaſee*, or General of the Horſe, or to ſome ſmall *Paſhalicks* or Governments ſcattered in ſeveral places of the Empire. But we ſhall not here need to diſcourſe of the particular Offices and Dignities within the power and gift of the Grand Signior, intending to make a diſtinct Chapter of the ſeveral Offices, Governments, Dignities and Places, from whence the Grand Signior's Profits ariſe, that ſo we may the better deſcribe the Wealth of this Empire, and the importance of thoſe Offices, for diſcharge of which young men are educated with the care beforementioned.

But before the concluſion of this Chapter, it will be neceſſary to add, that none unleſs by ſpecial grace, are advanced from the *Seraglio*, untill the age of about 40 years, by which time they are ripe and mature for Government, and the wantonneſs and heat of youth allayed. Before their departure to their places of Truſt, they are courted and honoured by all with Preſents; the Queen-Mother, the *Sultanaes*, the rich Eunuchs, the Great Viſier, and Officers abroad concur all to adorn them with gifts and riches at their advancements, as undoubted conſequents of the Grand Signior's favour. And at the farewell, with much ſubmiſſion they viſit the *Capa Aga*, or chief of the Eunuchs, and other principal Officers of the *Seraglio*, recommending themſelves in the time of their abſence to their good grace and favour, deſiring to live in their good opinion and friendſhip; and this is done with as much ceremony and complement as is exerciſed in the moſt civil parts of Chriſtendom. For though the *Turks* out of pride and ſcorn, comport themſelves to Chriſtians

ſtians with a ſtrange kind of barbarous hautineſs and neglect, they are yet among themſelves as courtly and preciſe in their own rules of complement and civility, as they are at *Rome*, or any other parts of the civilized World.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Method of the Turkiſh *Studies and Learning in the* Seraglio.

WE have rather ſhewed in the foregoing Chapter, the Education of young Scholars, in reference to exerciſe of body, and dexterity in arms, than the method of their ſtudies and ſpeculations, according to the manner of our Seminaries and Colleges, which more reſpect the cultivation of the mind with the principles of vertue and morality, and the notions of ſublime reaſon, than the improvements of the body by aſſiduity of exerciſe, which makes them become active, and begets an agility in the management of Arms. And though the latter is a buſineſs moſt attended to by ſprightly and ingenious ſpirits, who know preferments in the *Ottoman* Court have always depended and ſtill do on the virtue of the Sword; yet ſpeculation and knowledge in Sciences are not wholly eſtranged from their Schools, which we ſhall in brief touch upon to ſatisfie the curioſity of our Academies, who I know would gladly be reſolved what ſort of Phyſical or Moral Philoſophy, what Tongues and Sciences fall within the contemplation of that barbarous ignorance of the *Turks*. To dilucide which the moſt clearly that I can, according to the beſt information of the learned *Turks*; it is reported by the *Kalfaes* or Pedagogues of the *Seraglio*, that their chief deſign is to inſtruct their Scholars in

reading and writing, ſo as they may have ſome inſpection into the Books of their Law and Religion; eſpecially the *Alchoran*, whereby may be produced in their minds a greater reverence to them. For being once paſſed from the firſt form of their A,B,C. and joyning Syllables, they are then inſtructed in the *Arabian* Tongue, wherein all the ſecrets and treaſure of their Religion and Laws are contained, and is a neceſſary accompliſhment of a *Paſha*, or any great Miniſter in relation to the better diſcharge of his Office, being thereby enabled to have an inſpection into the Writings and Sentences of the *Kadees*, or other Officers of the Law within his juriſdiction, as well as furniſhed with Knowledge and matter of diſcourſe concerning Religion. And to adorn theſe young *Candidates* of the Grand Signior's favour, with more Polity and ingenious Endowments, the next Leſſon is the *Perſian* Tongue, which fits them with quaint words and eloquence, becoming the Court of their Prince, and corrects the groſſneſs, and enriches the barrenneſs of the *Turkiſh* Tongue, which in it ſelf is void both of expreſſion and ſweetneſs of accent. It teaches them alſo a handſome and gentle deportment, inſtructs them in Romances, raiſes their thoughts to aſpire to the generous and vertuous actions they reade of in the *Perſian* Novellaries, and endues them with a kind of *Platonick* love each to other, which is accompanied with a true friendſhip amongſt ſome few, and with as much gallantry as is exerciſed in any part of the World. But for their Amours to Women, the reſtraint and ſtrictneſs of Diſcipline, makes them altogether ſtrangers to that Sex; for want of converſation with them, they burn in luſt one towards another, and the amorous diſpoſition of youth wanting more natural objects of affection, is tranſported to a moſt paſſionate admiration of beauty whereſoever it finds

it,

it, which becauſe it is much talked of by the *Turks*, we will make it a diſtinct diſcourſe by it ſelf. The Books they reade commonly in the *Perſian* Language, are *Daniſten*, *Schaihdi*, *Pend-attar*, *Giuliſtin*, *Boſtan Hafiz*, and the *Turkiſh* Books called *Mulemma*, or a mixture of the *Arabian* and *Perſian* words both in Proſe and Verſe, facetious and full of quick and lively expreſſions. Of theſe ſorts of Books, thoſe moſt commonly read are called *Kirkwiziz*, *Humaiunname*, or *delile we Kemine*, *El fulceale*, *Seidbatal*, and various other Romances: theſe are uſually the ſtudy of the moſt aiery and ingenious ſpirits amongſt them. Thoſe others who are of a complexion more melancholick and inclinable to contemplation, proceed with more patience of method, and are more exact in their ſtudies, intending to become Maſters of their Pen, and by that means to arrive to honour and Office either of *Reſt Efendi*, or Secretary of State, Lord Treaſurer, or Secretary of the Treaſury, or Diſpenſatory, *&c.* or elſe to be *Emaums* or Pariſh Prieſts of ſome principal Moſchs of Royal foundation, in which they paſs an eaſie, quiet, and ſecure life, with a conſiderable competency of livelihood. Others aim in their ſtudies to become *Hazifizi*, which ſignifies a conſerver of the *Alchoran*, who get the whole *Alchoran* by heart, and for that reaſon are held in great eſteem, and their perſons as ſacred as the place which is the Repoſitory of the Law.

Thoſe who are obſerved to be more addicted to their Books than others, are named by them *Talibulilmi*, or lovers of Philoſophy; though very few amongſt them arrive to any learning really ſo called, yet they attain to the degree of *Giuzchon* or Readers of the *Alchoran*, for benefit and relief of the Souls of thoſe departed, who for that end have bequeathed them Legacies. At certain houſes they reade Books

that

that treat of the matters of their Faith, and render them out of *Arabisk* into *Turkiſh*, and theſe Books are *Schurut*, *Salat*, *Mukad*, *Multeka*, *Hidaie*, &c. which they deſcant upon in an Expoſitory manner; inſtructing the more ignorant and of lower form, by way of Catechiſm. They have alſo ſome Books of Poetry written both in *Perſian* and *Arabick*, which run in Rhime and Meeter, like the Golden Verſes in *Pythagoras*, containing excellent Sentences of Morality, being directions for a godly life, and contemplation of the miſeries and fallacies of this World, which many of them do commit to memory, and repeat occaſionally as they fall into diſcourſe. For other Sciences, as Logick, Phyſick, Metaphyſick, Mathematicks, and other our Univerſity Learning, they are wholly ignorant; unleſs in the latter, as far as Muſick is a part of the Mathematicks, whereof there is a School apart in the *Seraglio*. Onely ſome that live in *Conſtantinople* have learned ſome certain rules of Aſtrology, which they exerciſe upon all occaſions, and buſie themſelves in Prophecies of future contingencies of the Affairs of the Empire, and the unconſtant eſtate of great Miniſters, in which their predictions ſeldom divine grateſull or pleaſing ſtories. Neither have the wiſeſt and moſt active Miniſters or Souldiers amongſt them, the leaſt inſpection into Geography, whereby to be acquainted with the ſituation of Countries or diſpoſition of the Globe, though they themſelves enjoy the poſſeſſion of ſo large a proportion of the Univerſe. Their Seamen, who ſeldom venture beyond ſight of Land (unleſs they be thoſe of *Barbary*, who are *Renegadoes*, and practiſed in the Chriſtian Arts of Navigation) have certain *Sea-charts* ill framed, and the Capes and Head-lands ſo ill laid down, that in their Voyages from *Conſtantinople* to *Alexandria*, the richeſt place of their Trade, they truſt more

more to their eye and experience, than the direction of their Maps; nor could I ever ſee any Chart of the black Sea made either by *Turk* or *Greek*, which could give the leaſt light to a knowing Seaman, ſo as to encourage him according to the rules of Art, to lay any confidence thereon in his Navigation.

The Art of Printing (a matter diſputable whether it hath brought more of benefit or miſchief to the World) is abſolutely prohibited amongſt them, becauſe it may give a beginning to that ſubtilty of Learning, which is inconſiſtent with, as well as dangerous to the groſſneſs of their Government, and a means to deprive many of their livelihood, who gain their Bread onely by their Pen, and occaſion the loſs of that ſingular Art of fair Writing, wherein they excell or equal moſt Nations: the effect of which is evident amongſt the Weſtern people, where Printing hath taken footing. And though there be few Hiſtorians among them who have any knowledge of paſt times, or the being of other Empires before the *Ottoman*, mixing all ſtories in confuſion together (as we have ſaid before) without diſtinction of Perſons, or reſpect of Chronology; yet as to the ſucceſſes and progreſs of Affairs in their own Dominions, they keep moſt ſtrict Regiſters and Records, which ſerve them as Preſidents and Rules for the preſent Government of their Affairs.

And thus the Reader may ſound the depth of the *Turks* Philoſophy, who though they reach not thoſe contemplations of our profound *Sophies*, have yet ſo much knowledge as neither to be over-reached in their Treaties with the Wits of the World, nor for want of good Conduct of Affairs loſe one inch of their Empire.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Affection and Friendſhip the Pages in the Seraglio *bear each other.*

SInce in the foregoing Chapter we have made mention of the amorous diſpoſition that is to be found among theſe Youths each to other, it will not be from our purpoſe to acquaint the Reader, that the Doctrine of *Platonick* love hath found Diſciples in the Schools of the *Turks*, that they call it a paſſion very laudable and vertuous, and a ſtep to that perfect love of God, whereof Mankind is onely capable, proceeding by way of love and admiration of his image and beauty enſtamped on the Creature. This is the colour of vertue, they paint over the deformity of their depraved inclinations; but in reality this love of theirs, is nothing but libidinous flames each to other, with which they burn ſo violently, that baniſhment and death have not been examples ſufficient to deter them from making demonſtrations of ſuch like addreſſes; ſo that in their Chambers, though watched by their Eunuchs, they learn a certain language with the motion of their Eyes, their geſtures and their Fingers, to expreſs their Amours; and this Paſſion hath boiled ſometimes to that heat, that jealouſies and rivalties have broken forth in their Chambers without reſpect to the ſeverity of their Guardians, and good orders have been brought into confuſion, and have not been again redreſſed, untill ſome of them have been expelled the *Seraglio* with the Tippets of their Veſts cut off, baniſhed into the Iſlands, and beaten almoſt to death.

Nor

Nor is this Paſſion onely amongſt the young Men each to other; but Perſons of eminent degree in the *Seraglio* become inveigled in this ſort of love, watching occaſions to have a ſight of the young Pages that they fanſie, either at the Windows of their Chamber, or as they go to the *Moſque*, or to their Waſhings or Baths; offer them ſervice and preſents, and ſo engage them as to induce them to deſire to be made of the Retinue of him that uſes this Courtſhip towards them, which they many times obtain, and being entertained in the ſervice of a Maſter who ſo highly fanſies and admires them, they become often ſharers with him in his riches and fortune.

The Grand Signior's themſelves have alſo been ſlaves to this inordinate Paſſion. For *Sultan Morat* became ſo enamoured of an *Armenian* Boy, called *Muſa*, as betrayed him, though otherwiſe a diſcreet Prince, to a thouſand follies; and at another time preferred a youth for his beauty onely from the Novitiate of *Galata*, to be one of the Pages of his *Haz Oda* or Chamber of his Royal Preſence, and in a ſhort time made him *Silahter Aga*, or Sword-bearer, one of the greateſt Offices in the *Seraglio*. And this preſent *Sultan* became ſo enamoured of a *Conſtantinopolitan* youth, one of the Pages of his *Muſitians* School, called *Kulogli*, or Son of a ſlave, that he made him his chief Favourite, never could content himſelf without his company, Cloathed him like himſelf, made him ride by his ſide, commanded all to preſent and honour him, in the ſame manner as if he had made him Companion of the Empire.

This Paſſion likewiſe reigns in the Society of Women; they die with amorous affections one to the other; eſpecially the old Women court the young, preſent them with rich Garments, Jewels, Money, even

even to their own impoveriſhment and ruin, and theſe darts of *Cupid* are ſhot through all the Empire, eſpecially *Conſtantinople*, the *Seraglio* of the Grand Signior and the Apartments of the Sultans.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Mutes and Dwarfs.

BEſides the Pages, there is a ſort of Attendants to make up the *Ottoman* Court, called *Bizebani*, or *Mutes*, men naturally born deaf, and ſo conſequently for want of receiving the ſound of words are dumb: Theſe are in number about 40, who by night are lodged amongſt the Pages in the two Chambers, but in the day time have their ſtations before the *Moſque* belonging to the Pages, where they learn and perfect themſelves in the language of the *Mutes*, which is made up of ſeveral ſigns, in which by cuſtome they can diſcourſe and fully expreſs themſelves; not onely to ſignifie their ſenſe in familiar queſtions, but to recount Stories, underſtand the Fables of their own Religion, the Laws and Precepts of the *Alchoran*, the name of *Mahomet*, and what elſe may be capable of being expreſſed by the Tongue. The moſt ancient amongſt them, to the number of about eight or nine, are called the Favourite *Mutes*, and are admitted to attendance in the *Haz Oda*; who onely ſerve in the place of *Buffons* for the Grand Signior to ſport with, whom he ſometimes kicks, ſometimes throws in the Ciſterns of Water, ſometimes makes fight together like the combat of *Clineas* and *Dametas*. But this language of the



A mute *A dwarf*

the *Mutes* is ſo much in faſhion in the *Ottoman* Court, that none almoſt but can deliver his ſenſe in it, and is of much uſe to thoſe who attend the Preſence of the Grand Signior, before whom it is not reverent or ſeemly ſo much as to whiſper.

The Dwarfs are called *Ginge*; theſe alſo have their quarters amongſt the Pages of the two Chambers, untill they have learned with due reverence and humility to ſtand in the Preſence of the Grand Signior. And if one of theſe have that benefit, as by Natures fortunate error to be both a Dwarf, and dumb, and afterwards by the help of Art to be caſtrated and made an Eunuch, he is much more eſteemed, than if Nature and Art had concurred together to make him the perfecteſt Creature in the World; one of this ſort was preſented by a certain *Paſha*, to the Grand Signior, who was ſo acceptable to him and the Queen Mother, that he attired him immediately in Cloth of Gold, and gave him liberty through all the Gates of the *Seraglio*.

CHAP. IX

Of the Eunuchs.

THis libidinous flame of depraved Nature is ſo common a diſeaſe among the *Turks*, and ſo ancient a Vice, that both for ſtate and prevention of this unnatural crime, it hath not been eſteemed ſafe or orderly in the Courts of Eaſtern Princes to conſtitute others for the Principal Officers of their Houſhold than Eunuchs: the like is obſerved in the *Seraglio* of the Grand Signior, where two Eunuchs eſpecially have the principal command, and are perſons

ſons of the higheſt and eminenteſt eſteem, *viz.* the *Kuzlir-Agaſi*, who is ſuperintendent over the Women, and is a black Eunuch.

The other is *Capa Agaſi* or Maſter of the Gate, who is white, and commands all the Pages and White Eunuchs reſiding in the Court; under him are all the Officers that are Eunuchs; as firſt the *Haz Odabaſchi* or Lord Chamberlain, who commands the Gentlemen of the Bed-chamber.

2. The *Serai Kiahaiaſi*, Lord Steward of the Houſhold, who overſees the Chambers of the Pages, and the *Seferli Odaſi*, or the Chambers of thoſe Pages who are deſigned to follow the Grand Signior upon any Journey, and of theſe he hath care to ſee them provided of Cloaths and all other neceſſaries for the ſervice they undertake.

3. The *Haznadar Baſhi*, or Lord Treaſurer of the *Seraglio*, who commands thoſe Pages that attend the Treaſury; I mean not that which is of preſent uſe, as to pay the Souldiery, or ſerve the publick and preſent occaſions of the Empire; for that is in the hand of the *Teſterdar*; but that Riches that is laid apart for the expences of the Court, and that which is amaſſed and piled up in ſeveral rooms of the *Seraglio*, of which there have been collections and additions in the time almoſt of every Emperour, diſtinguiſhed and divided by the names of the *Sultans*, through whoſe induſtry and frugality they had been acquired; but this Wealth is conſerved as ſacred, not to be uſed or expoſed, unleſs on occaſions of extreme emergency.

4. The *Kilargi Baſhi*, that is, the chief Commander over the Pages, to whoſe care the charge of the Diſpenſatory is committed, or expences for the daily Proviſions. Other Officers there are of Eunuchs, as he that is firſt Maſter of Scholars for



Kuzlir Aga or Black Eunuch of the women

their Books, called *Ikingi Capa oglani*, and his Uſher; the chief *Miergidgi* or Prieſt of the Grand Signior's *Moſque*; under whom are two other Aſſiſtants, for cleanſing and well ordering of the *Moſques*.

Theſe are the onely Officers of the White Eunuchs, the others are of Commonalty, which are in number about fifty, and have ordinarily twelve Aſpers a day pay, which alſo are augmented according to the *Wakfi* or Legacies of the deceaſed. Thoſe that are Curates of the Royal *Moſques*, and have Pluralities of Benefices of that nature, have ſometimes a revenue of 100 *Chequins* a day: among theſe alſo due order is obſerved, the younger or Juniors in the *Seraglio*, always giving reſpect and reverence to Seniority.

Of the Black Eunuchs.

THE Black Eunuchs are ordained for the ſervice of the Women in the *Seraglio*; as the White are to the attendance of the Grand Signior, it not ſeeming a ſufficient remedy by wholly diſmembring them, to take the Women off from their inclinations to them, as retaining ſome relation ſtill to the Maſculine Sex, but to create an abhorrency in them; they are not onely caſtrated, but Black, choſen with the worſt features that are to be found among the moſt hard-favoured of that *African* Race. The prime Officer of them all, as we have ſaid before, is the *Kuzlir Aga*, or Maſter of the Maids or Virgins.

2. *Valide Agaſi*, the Eunuch of the Queen-Mother.

3. *Schabzadeler Agaſi*, or the Eunuch to whoſe charge is committed the Royal Progeny, and in whoſe cuſtody at preſent are three Sons of *Sultan Ibrahim*, Brothers to the preſent Emperour, *viz. Solyman*, on whom the *Turks* at preſent found their principal hopes and expectation; *Bajazet* and *Orchan*, the Mother of which two laſt is ſtill living, and confined to the old *Seraglio* in *Conſtantinople*, which is the Monaſtery of the decayed Wives and Miſtreſſes of former Grand Signiors, from whence there is no redemption, untill either their Sons die, or by good fortune one becomes Emperour.

4. Is *Fazna Agaſi*, or the Eunuch that is Treaſurer to the Queen-Mother, and commands thoſe Damſels that are Servants in the ſaid Chamber.

5. *Kilar Agaſi*, or he that keeps the Sugar, Serbets, and Drugs of the Queen-Mother.

6. *Bujuck Oda Agaſi*, Commander of the greater Chamber.

7. *Kulchuk Oda Agaſi*, Commander of the leſſer Chamber.

8. *Baſh Capa Oglani*, the chief Porter of the Womens Apartment.

9 & 10. Two *Meſgidgi Barchi*, or the two *Emaums* or Prieſts of the Royal *Moſque* belonging to the Queen-Mother, ordained for the Womens Prayers.

The

The Apartments of the Women.

AND ſince I have brought my Reader into the quarters of theſe Eunuchs, which are the Black guard of the ſequeſtred Ladies of the *Seraglio*, he may chance to take it unkindly, ſhould I leave him at the door, and not introduce him into thoſe Apartments, where the Grand Signior's Miſtreſſes are lodged: And though I ingenuouſly confeſs my acquaintance there (as all other my converſation with Women in *Turkey*) is but ſtrange and unfamiliar; yet not to be guilty of this diſcourteſie, I ſhall to the beſt of my information write a ſhort Account of theſe Captivated Ladies, how they are treated, immured, educated and prepared for the great atchievements of the *Sultan*'s affection; and as in other Stories the Knight conſumes himſelf with Combats, Watching and Penance to acquire the love of one fair Damſel; here an Army of Virgins make it the onely ſtudy and buſineſs of their life to obtain the ſingle nodd of invitation to the Bed of their great Maſter.

The Reader then muſt know that this Aſſembly of fair Women (for it is probable there is no other in the *Seraglio*) are commonly Prizes of the Sword; taken at Sea and at Land, as far fetched as the *Turk* commands, or the wandring *Tartar* makes his incurſions, compoſed almoſt of as many Nations as there are Countries of the World, none of which are eſteemed worthy of this Preferment, unleſs beautifull and undoubted Virgins.



The habit of a Lady in the Seraglio

As the Pages before mentioned are divided into two Chambers, ſo likewiſe are theſe Maids into two *Odaes*, where they are to work, ſow and embroider, and are there lodged on *Safawes*, every one with her Bed apart, between every five of which is a *Kadun* or grave Matron laid to overſee and hear what actions or diſcourſe paſſes either immodeſt or undecent; Beſides this School, they have their Chambers for Muſick and Dancing, for acquiring a handſome air in their carriage and comportment, to which they are moſt diligent and intent, as that which opens the door of the *Sultan*'s affections, and introduces them into Preferment and Eſteem.

Out of theſe the Queen-Mother chuſes her Court, and orderly draws from the Schools ſuch as ſhe marks out for the moſt beauteous, facetious, or moſt correſponding with the harmony of her own diſpoſition, and prefers them to a near attendance on her Perſon, or to other Offices of her Court. Theſe are always richly attired and adorned with all ſorts of precious Stones, fit to receive the addreſſes and amours of the *Sultan:* over them is placed the *Kadun Kahia* or Mother of the Maids, who is carefull to correct any immodeſt or light behaviour amongſt them, and inſtructs them in all the Rules and orders of the Court.

When the Grand Signior is pleaſed to dally with a certain number of theſe Ladies in the Garden; *Helvet* is cry'd, which rings through all the *Seraglio*, at which word all people withdraw themſelves at a diſtance, and Eunuchs are placed at every Avenue, it being at that time death to approach near thoſe Walls. Here the Women ſtrive with their Dances, Songs, and Diſcourſe to make themſelves Miſtreſſes of the Grand Signior's affection, and then let themſelves looſe to all kind of laſciviouſneſs and wanton carriage, acquitting themſelves as much of all

reſpect to Majeſty, as they do to modeſty.

When the Grand Signior reſolves to chuſe himſelf a Bed-fellow, he retires into the Lodgings of his Women, where (according to the ſtory in every place reported, when the *Turkiſh Seraglio* falls into diſcourſe) the Damſels being ranged in order by the Mother of the Maids, he throws his Handkerchief to her, where his eye and fancy beſt directs, it being a token of her election to his Bed. The ſurpriſed Virgin ſnatches at this prize and good fortune with that eagerneſs, that ſhe is raviſhed with the joy before ſhe is deflowered by the *Sultan*, and kneeling down firſt kiſſes the Handkerchief, and then puts it in her boſome, when immediately ſhe is congratulated by all the Ladies of the Court, for the great honour and favour ſhe hath received. And after ſhe hath been firſt waſhed, bathed and perfumed, ſhe is adorned with Jewels, and what other attire can make her appear glorious and beautifull; ſhe is conducted at night with Muſick and Songs of her Companions chanting before her to the Bed-chamber of the *Sultan*, at the door of which attends ſome Favourite Eunuch, who upon her approaching gives advice to the Grand Signior, and permiſſion being given her to enter in, ſhe comes running and kneels before him, and ſometimes enters in at the feet of the Bed, according to the ancient ceremony, or otherwiſe as he chances to like her, is taken in nearer way with the Embraces of the Grand Signior.

This private entertainment being ended, ſhe is delivered to the care of the *Kadan Kahia* or Mother of the Maids, by whom ſhe is again conducted back with the ſame Muſick as before, and having firſt waſhed and bathed, hath afterwards the lodging and attendants that belongs to *Hunkiar Aſa-kiſi*, that is, the Royal Concubine; if it be her good fortune

to



The habit of an Agiamoglon 71 P



A Hasaki or an Officer employed by the Grand Signor on messages &c.

to conceive and bring forth a Son, ſhe is called *Haſaki Sultana*, and is honoured with a ſolemn Coronation, and Crowned with a ſmall Coronet of Gold beſet with precious Stones. Other Ladies who produce like fruits from the Grand Signior's Bed, have not yet the like honour, but onely the name of *Baſh Haſaki*, *Inkingi Haſaki*, the firſt and ſecond Concubine, and ſo forward.

The Daughters that are born from the Grand Signior, are oftentimes at four or five years of Age wedded to ſome great *Paſha* or *Beglerbeg* with all the Pomp and Solemnities of Marriage, who from that time hath care of her Education, to provide a Palace for her Court, and to maintain her with that State and Honour as becomes the Dignity of a Daughter to the *Sultan*. At this tenderneſs of Age, *Sultan Ibrahim*, Father of the preſent Grand Signior, married three of his Daughters; one of which called *Gheaher Han Sultan*, hath had already five Husbands, and yet as is reported by the World, remains a Virgin; the laſt Husband deceaſed was *Iſhmael Paſha*, who was ſlain in the paſſage of the River *Raab*; and is now again married to *Gurgi Mahomet Paſha* of *Buda*, a man of 90 years of Age, but rich and able to maintain the greatneſs of her Court, though not to comply with the youthfulneſs of her Bed, to which he is a ſtranger like the reſt of her preceding Husbands.

After the death of the Grand Signior, the Mothers of Daughters have liberty to come forth from the *Seraglio* and marry with any perſon of Quality; but thoſe who have brought forth Sons, are tranſplanted to the old *Seraglio*, where they paſs a retired life without redemption; unleſs the Son of any of thoſe Mothers by death of the firſt heir, ſucceeding, releaſe his Mother from that reſtraint, and make her ſharer with him in all his Happineſs and Glory.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Of the Agiam-Oglans.

WE have hitherto ſpoken of the *Ichoglans* or Pages, Mutes, Dwarfs, Eunuchs, and the Feminine Court; it will now be neceſſary to ſpeak of the under Officers and Servants called *Agiam-Oglans*, who are deſigned to the meaner uſes of the *Seraglio*: Theſe are alſo Captives taken in War, or bought of the *Tartar*, but moſt commonly the Sons of Chriſtians taken from their Parents at the Age of ten or twelve years, in whom appearing more ſtrength of body than of mind, they are ſet apart for labour and menial Services: Theſe are,

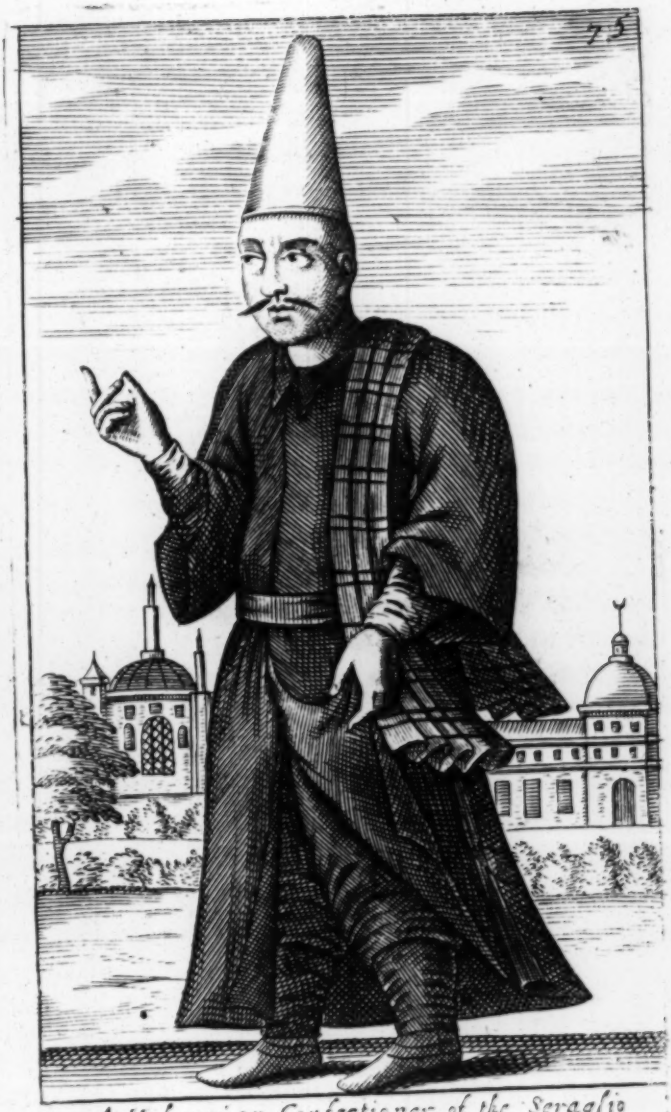
1. Porters.
2. *Boſtangi*'s or Gardiners.
3. *Baltagi*'s or Hatchetmen, who cut and carry Wood.
4. *Aſgees* or Cooks, with all the Offices of the Kitchin.
5. *Paicks* and *Solacks*.
6. Butchers.
7. *Holvagees* or Confectioners.
8. The Attendants of the Hoſpital of ſick Pages.

And all other ſet apart for ſervile Offices.

Theſe are ſeldom the Sons of natural born *Turks*, but yearly collected (as I ſaid) from the increaſe of poor Chriſtians in the *Morea* and *Albania*; by which means thoſe Countries are greatly diſ-peopled; the yearly number of thoſe thus collected, amount moſt



The Bostange: Bashaw or Head of the Gardiners



A Holvagi or Confectioner of the Seraglio

moſt commonly, as I am given to underſtand, to about 2000, which being brought to *Conſtantinople*, are firſt preſented before the Viſier, who (according as his humour directs him) are placed in divers ſtations, either in the *Seraglioes* of *Galata*, *Okmedon*, or *Adrianople*; others are put forth to learn divers Trades in the City; others to be Seamen, and learn Navigation; others eſpecially are placed in the great *Seraglio*, where they are made to ſerve in the Stables, in the Kitchin, to dig in the Gardens, to cleave Wood, to row in the Grand Signior's Barge, and to doe what other ſervices they are commanded by the Superiours ſet over them, called *Odabaſhees*, who are men of ancienter ſtanding than the reſt, having about fifteen Aſpers a day Salary, two Veſts of Cloth a year, and two pieces of Linen Cloth for Shirts and Hankerchiefs, *&c.* and theſe are ſubject to the *Boſtangi Paſha*, who is the head and abſolute Commander of all thoſe who have the name of *Boſtangees* or Gardiners, of which there may be 10000 in and about the *Seraglioes* and Garden of the Grand Signior.

Of theſe *Boſtangees*, ſome are raiſed to a higher degree, and called *Haſaki*, which ſignifies Royal, and attend onely to Meſſages ſent by the Grand Signior himſelf, and are men of ſpecial authority. Their Habit or Cloathing nothing differs from the *Boſtangees*, unleſs in the fineneſs of their Cloth, their Collar and Girdle, according to this Picture.

The power of the *Boſtangi Paſha* is very great; for though he himſelf aroſe but from the *Agiamoglans*, and wore a felt Cap, yet he hath the command of all the Grand Signior's Gardens and Houſes of Pleaſure, overſees all his Water-works, and hath power and juriſdiction along the *Boſphorus*, unto the mouth of the Black Sea, commands alſo the Countrey at a large diſtance from *Conſtantinople*; having

having power to puniſh all debaucheries and extravagancies in and about the Countrey Villages, and is capable by the Grand Signior's favour to become *Paſha* of Grand *Cairo*, *Babylon*, *Buda*, &c. and of the firſt degree which is Viſier *Azem*.

The *Agiamoglans* who are deſigned to the Grand Signior's *Seraglio*, are of the choiceſt amongſt the whole number, the ſtrongeſt Bodies, and moſt promiſing Aſpects, and are diſtributed into ſeveral Companies as they want to make up their complement. This diſcipline is very ſevere and ſtrict, ſo that they are taught obedience and readineſs to ſerve, with watchings, faſtings, and other Penances.

Their Cloathing is of courſe Cloth made at *Salonica*, anciently called *Theſſalonica*; their Caps of Felt, after the form of a Sugar-loaf, of a hair colour, according as the Picture here deſcribes; ſome of them are taught to Read and Write, who are eſteemed the moſt acute and fit to receive ingenious learning, but the moſt part are exerciſed in activity of Body, in running, leaping, wreſtling, throwing the Iron Bar, and other agility wherein the ſtrength and activity of Body is beſt practiſed. Their Lodgings are under ſeveral Pent-houſes or Sheds, built under the Walls of the *Seraglio*, their Dyet is Fleſh and Rice, ſufficient, though not luxurious. Out of theſe belonging to the *Seraglio*, none are drawn out for *Janizaries*, but are ſometimes preferred to ſervice of *Paſhaes* for their Fidelity or good deſerts, and by thoſe Maſters ariſe to conſiderable Riches, and commodious manner of livelihood; others of theſe in great numbers are made uſe of for attendance on the Grand Signior's Tents, when he goes to the Wars, and in other Journies are uſefull for the management of the Grand Signior's carriages and travelling neceſſaries. Such *Agiamoglans* (as we have ſaid before) that are diſtributed

buted into other quarters beſides the Royal *Seraglio*, are principally deſigned as they grow ripe, and of ſtrength of Body to be made *Janizaries* in the place of the deceaſed; ſo that their principal education is in order thereunto, of whom we ſhall ſpeak more largely when we treat of the Militia.

The names of the *Agiamoglans* are written in a Book, with the places where they are diſtributed, their ſeveral Pays of two, three, or five Aſpers a day, which Book is under-written by the Grand Signior, and conſigned to the *Teſterdar* or Lord Treaſurer, who pays their Salaries every three Months, being obliged at that time to enquire who is dead or removed, and ſo accordingly to make a true report to the Grand Signior.

And thus I have given you a brief account of the Grand Signior's *Seraglio* and the Regiment of it, which if well conſidered and weighed, is one of the moſt Politick Conſtitutions in the World, and none of the meaneſt ſupports of the *Ottoman* Empire: which Relation I had from the mouth of one who had ſpent nineteen years in the Schools of the *Seraglio*. I muſt confeſs I have not treated ſo amply thereof as the Subject might require, becauſe the Rules and Oeconomy obſerved among the Women, Mutes, Eunuchs, and other of the retired Apartments, I conceive to be a kind of digreſſion from my purpoſe, my intention being principally to deſcribe the Government, Maxims, and Polities of the *Turk*. And therefore I proceed to treat of the diverſities of offices and Places of great Riches and Truſt, which remain in the power of the *Sultan* to confer on thoſe Favourites, Minions and Creatures, whom thus at his own charge he hath nouriſhed like a Father from their infancy to inveſt in their riper years with great honours, for ſecurity of his own Perſon, and flouriſhing eſtate of his Dominions.

CHAP.



The Prime Vizier

CHAP. XI.

Of the Viſier Azem *or Prime* Viſier, *his Office, the other ſix* Viſiers *of the Bench, and of the* Divan *or place of Judicature.*

THE Prime Viſier called in *Turkiſh* Viſier *Azem*, is as much as chief Counſellor; he is ſometimes termed the Grand Signior's Deputy or Repreſentative, or *Vicarius Imperii*, becauſe to him all the power of the *Sultan* is immediately devolved; there is no other ſolemnity, as I know of, in the creating a Viſier than the delivery of the Grand Signior's Seal, which he always carries about him in his Boſome, on which is engraven the Emperours Name, by which he becomes inveſted in all the power of the Empire, and can without the formality and proceſs of Law remove all obſtacles and impediments which hinder the free ſway of his Government. It hath always been the Policy of the great Princes of the Eaſt, to erect one as Superintendent over all the reſt of their Miniſters; ſo *Daniel* was conſtituted by *Darius* over the Preſidents and Princes, becauſe of the admirable Spirit and Wiſedom that was in him: and *Joſeph* was made chief Governor and abſolute Commander over all *Egypt*, and by this means thoſe Princes who gave themſelves much over to ſoftneſs and luxury, could with more eaſe demand account of miſcarriages in the rule of their Empire, it being their Policy to conſtitute one on whom all the blame of miſcarriages in Government might be thrown. Dan. c. 6.

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The firſt conſtitution that we meet with in Hiſtory of the firſt Viſier, was in the time of *Amurath* the third, King of the *Turks*, who paſſing into *Europe* with his Tutor called *Lala Schabin*, he made him his chief Councillor, and committed to him the charge of his Army, with which he won *Adrianople* formerly called *Oreſtias*, and ever ſince the Grand Signior hath continued to maintain that Office of Viſier, uſing that common appellation of *Lala*, which ſignifies Tutor, whenſoever in familiar diſcourſe he ſpeaks to him.

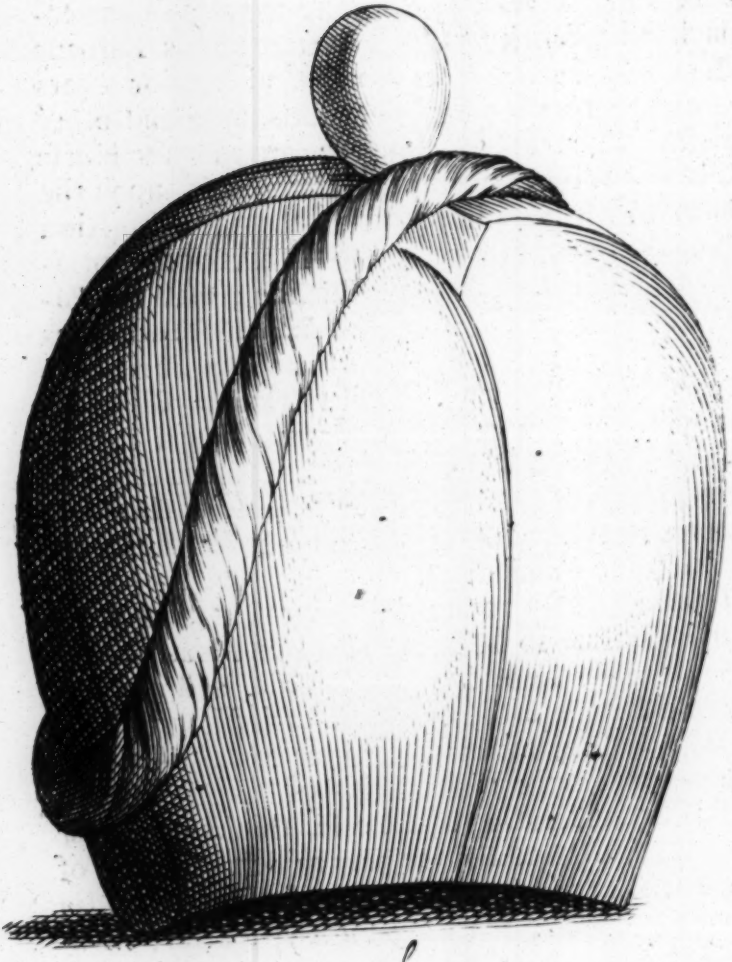
There are beſides the firſt, commonly ſix other Viſiers who are called Viſiers of the Bench, that have no power nor authority in the Government, but onely are grave men, that have perhaps had Charges and Offices, and are knowing in the Laws, and ſit together with the firſt Viſier in the *Divan* or Court where Cauſes are tryed, but are mute and cannot give their ſentence or opinion in any matter unleſs the firſt Viſier pleaſe to demand their Counſel or Judgment in point of Law; which he ſeldom does, not to diſparage his own reaſon and experience. Their pay proceeds from the Grand Signior's Treaſury, and is not above 2000 Dollars a year: any of theſe ſix can write the Grand Signior's Firme or Autogra upon all Commands or Decrees that are ſent abroad; and becauſe their Riches are but moderate, and the Office they are in treats not much with the dangerous parts of State, they live long without envy or emulation, or being ſubject to that inconſtancy of fortune and alteration, to which greater degrees of place are expoſed. And yet when any great matter is in conſult, and of conſiderable importance, theſe ſix with the firſt Viſier, the *Mufti* and *Caddeeleſcheers* or Lord Chief Juſtices, are admitted into the Cabinet Council, and

and are often permitted freedom to deliver their opinions on the matter of queſtion.

The ſtate and greatneſs the Prime Viſier lives in is agreeable to the honour of him whom he repreſents, having commonly in his Court about 2000 Officers and Servants; when he appears in any ſolemnity or publick ſhow, he carries on his Turbant before two Feathers, as the Grand Signior wears three ſet on with a handle of Diamonds and other rich Stones, and before him are carried three Horſe Tails called the Tugh upon a long Staff, upon the top of which is a gilded knob; the like diſtinction of honour is permitted onely to the three other principal *Paſhaes* within their juriſdiction; *viz.* the *Paſha* of *Babylon*, of *Cairo*, and of *Buda*; the other inferiour *Paſhaes* have onely one Horſe Tail carried before them, without other diſtinction or Badge of Authority; and theſe three forementioned *Paſhaes* have a right to be Viſiers of the Bench, and can take their places in the *Divan* when the time of their Offices are expired, and any of them found at the Court in entire grace and favour.

The Prime Viſier as he is the repreſentative of the Grand Signior, ſo he is the Head or Mouth of the Law; to him Appeals may be made, and any one may decline the ordinary courſe of juſtice, to have his caſe decided by his determination; unleſs the Viſier through the multiplicity of his affairs, and the ſmall conſideration of the caſe, thinks fit to refer it to the Law. And that he may evidence his care of the publick good, he is always preſent at the *Divan* four times a week; that is, *Saturday*, *Sunday*, *Monday*, *Tueſday*, and the other days (excepting *Friday*) keeps *Divan* in his own houſe, ſo diligent and watchfull are theſe men to diſcharge the Acts of Juſtice, and their own Office.

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A. Turbant

He is attended to the *Divan*, which is the Chamber of the *Seraglio*, by a great number of *Chiauſes*, and their Commanders in chief, who are a ſort of Purſevants and other Officers who onely ſerve to attend him to the *Divan* called *Muta-faracan*, and may be termed Serjeants or Tipſtaffs; as he deſcends from his Horſe and enters the *Divan*, or upon his return goes into his Houſe, he is with a loud voice of his Attendants prayed for, and wiſhed all happineſs and long life, not unlike the ſalutations the *Roman* Souldiers uſed to their Emperours; *Cum ſub auſpiciis Cæſaris omnia proſpera & felicia precabantur.* When he is ſet upon the Bench, all Cauſes are brought before the *Caddeeleſcheer* who is Lord Chief Juſtice, and by him all Judgments paſs, unleſs the Prime Viſier ſhall think the Cauſe proper for his Cogniſance, or ſhall diſapprove at any time the Sentence of the Judge; and then by virtue of his unlimited power he can reverſe the Verdict and determine as he pleaſes. All Officers in the *Divan* wear a ſtrange ſort of dreſs upon their heads, called in *Turkiſh Mugevezee*, which for the more lively deſcription is delineated in the preceding page.

The Lord Chief Juſtices which ſit with the Grand Viſier are two of *Romelia* and *Aſia*, called *Kadileſcher*, or Judges of the Army. And this ſhall in ſhort ſerve for what is neceſſary to ſpeak of the *Divan* in this place, in regard we onely touch upon it for the better explanation of the Viſiers Office.

The Prime Viſier hath his power as ample as his Maſter who gives it him, except onely that he cannot (though he is the elder Brother of all the *Paſhaes*) take off any of their heads without the Imperial Signature or immediate hand-writing of the Grand Signior, nor can he puniſh a *Spahee* or *Janizary*, or any other Souldier but by means of their

Commanders: the Militia having reſerved themſelves that privilege, which ſecures them from ſeveral oppreſſions: in other matters he is wholly abſolute, and hath ſo great a power with the Grand Signior, that whomſoever he ſhall think fit of all the Officers in the Empire to proſcribe, he can ſpeedily obtain the Imperial hand to put it in execution.

Whatſoever petitions and addreſſes are made, in what buſineſs ſoever, ought firſt to paſs through the hands of the Viſier: but yet when a party hath ſuffered ſome notorious injury, in which the Viſier is combined, or hath refuſed him juſtice, he hath liberty then to appeal to the Grand Signior himſelf, which is permitted by an ancient cuſtome; the aggrieved perſon putting fire on his head, enters the *Seraglio*, runs in haſte, and can be ſtopt by no body untill he comes to the preſence of the Grand Signior, to whom he hath licence to declare his wrong. The like was done by Sir *Thomas Bendyſh* when Ambaſſadour at *Conſtantinople*, putting pots of fire at the Yard Arms of ſome *Engliſh* Ships then in Port, and came to an Anchor near the *Seraglio*. The reaſon thereof was, the violent ſeizure of the Merchants Goods, as ſoon as arrived in Port, for the ſervice of the Grand Signior, without bargain or account of them, which being taken up by thoſe Officers and great perſons who were out of the reach of Law, forced the worthy Ambaſſadour at that time Reſident to repreſent his grievances with much reſolution, ſignifying them to the Grand Signior by fire on the Yards of eleven *Engliſh* Ships then in Port, which were drawn off from the Scale, where they uſually lay, to the ſide of the *Seraglio*; which coming to be diſcovered firſt to the Viſier, before the Grand Signior had notice thereof, he immediately extinguiſhed thoſe fires by a fair accommo-

commodation, before they burſt into a more dangerous flame, by the knowledge of the Grand Signior, who might juſtly deſtroy him for ſuffering ſuch notorious injuſtice to run to that publick and known extremity.

The *Perſians* in like caſes put on a Veſt of white Paper, ſignifying the aggravation of their injury is not to be deſcribed in as much Paper as can cover their Bodies.

This great Office of Charge and Truſt, as it is the higheſt, ſo it is the neareſt to *Jove*'s Thunderbolt, and moſt expoſed to envy and emulation; ſtrange ſtories are read and confirmed by eye-witneſſes in our days, concerning the unexpected riſe and aſcent of unworthy men on a ſudden without degrees, ſteps or approaches, to this mighty power and glory, and as ſoon have been thrown down and been the ſubject of the peoples cruelty and revenge; ſome have been the Sons but of a few days growth, and the Sun hath ſcarce ſet, before their greatneſs and glory hath declined; others have continued but a month, ſome a year, others two or three, and withall, even in thoſe who have lived longeſt and happieſt, fortune ſports with that wantonneſs and inconſtancy, that it may ſerve to be the Mirrour and Emblem of the World's vanity, and uncertain riches: It is the fate of great Favourites with barbarous Princes to be but ſhort-liv'd. For either the Prince delights to exerciſe his power in debaſing ſome, and advancing others, or hath beſtowed ſo largely, that his bounty is at a ſtop, and begins to be wearied with heaping of favours, as the other is glutted and ſatiated with receiving them; *Fato potentiæ raro ſempiternæ, an ſatias capit aut illos cum omnia tribuerunt, aut hos quod nihil reliquum eſt quod capiant.* Tacit. *lib.* 3. Emulation and flattery are likewiſe great, and the Factions are commonly many in the *Ottoman* Court, whereby the

ſtate of the firſt Miniſter is endangered. *Inſita mortalibus natura recentem aliorum felicitatem ægris oculis introſpicere, modumque fortunæ à nullis magis exigere, quam quos in æquo vident.* Tac. *lib.* 3. Sometimes the Queen Mother rules, ſometimes the *Kuſlir Aga* commands, perhaps a beautifull Woman is Miſtreſs of the power, as well as of the affections of the *Sultan*; every one of theſe have ſome Favourites, ſome or other who watch Preferments, and are intent to obſerve all miſcarriages of State, which may reflect on or queſtion the judgment or honeſty of the firſt Authour, by which means the unhappy Viſier, either by the *Sultan*'s immediate command, or tumults of the Souldiery raiſed by the powerfull Factions aforementioned, yields up his Life and Government together; whoſe power and greatneſs being onely borrowed from his Maſter, and depending on another's pleaſure, by its ſhort continuance and mutability, verifies that true ſaying of *Tacitus*, lib. 12. *Nihil rerum mortalium tam inſtabile & fluxum eſt, quàm fama potentiæ non ſuâ vi nixæ.*

But it doth not always happen that the Prime Viſier becauſe he is deprived of his Office, ſhould therefore loſe his life; for many times, eſpecially if he be a man whoſe diſpoſition is not greatly ſuſpected of Malice or Revenge to the Contrivers of his fall, or be not of a generous ſpirit, and great abilities and popularity, whereby he may be venturous and capable of raiſing Rebellion or Mutiny, he is permitted calmly to retire, and quietly to deſcend from his high Throne of Honour; to enter into a lower Region and Air of a ſmall and petty Government of a *Paſha*; as not many years paſt the Predeceſſours of *Kiuperli* Father of this preſent Viſier being degraded, had the *Paſhalick* of *Kaniſia* (which is accounted one of the meaneſt of all the Governments which are ſubject to

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a *Paſha*) conferred on him, and here I cannot tell whether ſuch a Viſier hath not more reaſon to bleſs and congratulate his fortune than accuſe it; for in this condition he is more free from cares and dangers, and much more happy if his ambition and greatneſs of ſpirit render not his repoſe and eaſe leſs pleaſing, becauſe it is not in the higheſt Lodgings of Honour and Command. But it is ſeldom ſo among the *Turks*; for with them it is eſteemed no diſgrace to be tranſplanted from the Mountains to the Vallies; they know their original and compoſition partakes not much of heavenly fire, and that the Clay they are framed of, is but of common Earth, which is in the hand of the Grand Signior, as the Pot, to frame and mould, as is moſt agreeable to his pleaſure and will. And as it is no diſparagement to decline and go backward in Honour amongſt the *Turks*, ſo it is no new thing, or abſurdity in their Politicks, to ſee men riſe like Muſhromes in a night, and from the meaneſt and moſt abject Offices, without degrees or convenient approaches, at once leap into the Seat and Quality of the Prime Viſier; I ſhall inſtance in one example worthy of Record, which was of late days, and as yet that I know of, hath had no place in Hiſtory. It happened that in *Conſtantinople*, there was either great ſcarcity of Fleſh, or the negligence of the Butchers had made it ſo; ſo that they who were not ſo early abroad as to watch their uſual time of making their days proviſion, or came any thing late, were neceſſitated to paſs that day with a Lenten diet; among thoſe who had miſſed one morning their common proportion of Fleſh, was one *Derviſe* a Cook of a Chamber of *Janizaries*; this man knew the blows and puniſhment he was to ſuffer from the chief of the Chamber; that through his ſloth and want of care, the whole company ſhould that day paſs

without their Dinner, which cauſed him in great paſſion with loud exclamations as he paſſed the Streets, to accuſe the ill Government, and little care was had to rectify theſe common abuſes: it fortuned that at that time that *Derviſe* was lamenting his caſe to all the World, and curſing the principal Officers, that the Grand Signior in diſguiſe paſſed by, and ſeeing a man in ſuch diſorder of mind, came in a courteous manner to demand the reaſon of his paſſion; to whom the *Derviſe* replied, *It was vain for him to be inquiſitive; or for me,* ſaid he, *to inform you what you are able to afford no remedy unto; for none but the Grand Signior himſelf is of ſufficient power to redreſs that for which I have ſo much cauſe to be troubled.* At laſt with much importunity he told *what great abuſe there was in the Butchery, that the Shambles were ill ſerved, that he had miſſed the uſual proportion of fleſh that morning, for his* Janizaries *Chamber, and what puniſhment he was likely to ſuffer, for having come ſhort onely one moment of his due time;* he added farther, *That the Viſier and other Officers were negligent in rectifying theſe mean and low diſorders, being wholly taken up in enriching themſelves, and intent to their own intereſt; but if I were firſt Viſieer, I would not onely cauſe great plenty of Fleſh in this City, but at all times of the day it ſhould be found by thoſe who wanted it; and now what benefit have either you,* ſaid he, *by hearing this ſtory, or what releaſe am I likely to have of puniſhment by repeating it to you?* The Grand Signior afterwards returning home, and conſidering of the diſcourſe the *Janizaries* Cook had made him, whether to prove the abilities of the man, or becauſe he conceived Providence had offered this encounter, or that Princes delight to exerciſe their power in creating great men from nothing; he ſent immediately for the *Derviſe*, who being come into his preſence, and ſenſible

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of the familiar diſcourſe he had made him, trembling caſt himſelf down at his feet, ſuppoſing that the free language he uſed of the Viſier and the Government, was the cauſe he was now to loſe his life. But it happened quite contrary, for the Grand Signior encouraging him to lay aſide his fear, told him *he was reſolved to make him firſt Viſier, to try an Experiment whether he was able to amend thoſe abuſes he complained of*; and that herein he might not tranſgreſs the degrees whereby he was gradually to paſs, he firſt made him chief of his Chamber, the next day Captain, the day following *Aga* or General of the *Janizaries*, and thence with one ſtep to be Great Viſier, who not onely remedied the abuſe in the Shambles according to his promiſe, but proved a famous and excellent Miniſter of State; and though examples of the like nature are frequent among the *Turks*, yet this may ſerve at preſent to ſhew in part the fortune and fate by which men are raiſed, and the unconſtancy of greatneſs and glory amongſt the *Turks* above any other part of the World beſides.

It was a hard Problem in the *Turkiſh Policy*, which as a wiſe Prime Viſier propoſed to certain *Paſhaes* amongſt other queſtions, What courſes were poſſible to be found out for a firſt Viſier to maintain and continue his Office, and acquit this ſo dangerous charge from the hazard and uncertainty to which it is liable; *For you ſee Brothers*, ſaid he, *how few enjoy or grow old herein; their vertue, their care, and their innocence are no protection; ſome remain a day, a week, a month, others protract the thread to a year or two, but at length they are* (to uſe our own Proverb) *like the* Ant *to whom God gives Wings for their ſpeedier deſtruction.* The *Paſhaes* were for a-while all ſilent, not knowing what reply to make, or how to reſolve ſo difficult and knotty a point, untill *Kuperli* (who was

was then the moſt ancient and perhaps the wiſeſt *Paſha*, as the actions of his following life have ſufficiently teſtified) firſt replied, that in his opinion, the onely and moſt probable means for a tottering Viſier to ſecure himſelf, is to divert the mind of the Grand Signior and other working Brains, upon ſome foreign War; for Peace is that which corrupts the diſpoſitions of Men, and ſets them on work to raiſe themſelves with inteſtine and Civil Evils; when War buſies their Spirits, and employs them to gain renown and glory by Martial Actions, by which means Plots and Treachery are droven from our own homes, *Conſiliis & aſtu res externas moliri, arma procul habere*, Tac. *lib.* 6. And it is poſſible that *Achmet* the Son of *Kuperli*, who began the laſt War with *Germany*, might go upon this Maxime of his Fathers; for in all matters of his Government, he is obſerved to walk by the ſame rules and directions, which were bequeathed to him as well as his Inheritance.

And yet for all this doubtfull eſtate of the Prime Viſiers, ſome have been known to manage this Office 18 or 19 years, and afterwards wearied with care and pains, to acquit it by a natural death; from whence this queſtion may ariſe, whether the favour or diſpleaſure of the Prince depends on the deſtiny or fortune we are born to, or whether humane Counſel can aſſign a way between contumaciouſneſs and flattery, wherein to ſteer free from danger and ambition? *Unde dubitare cogor, fato & ſorte naſcendi, ut catera, ita Principum inclinatio in hos, offenſio in illos, an ſit aliquid in noſtris conſiliis, liceatque inter abruptam contumaciam, & deforme obſequium pergere iter, ambitione & periculis vacuum.* Tacit. *lib.* 4. But we find but few examples of this kind. For if Viſiers have been evil, their own cruelty and covetouſneſs have haſtned their fate; if

if good their merits have been their ruine; leſt the great benefits their merits have procured to their Prince ſhould ſeem to want reward, or be dangerous or difficult to requite, *Beneficia eouſque læta, dum videntur exſolvi poſſe; ubi multum antevenere, pro gratia odium redditur*, Tac. *lib.* 4.

The Revenues of the firſt Viſier which iſſue immediately from the Crown, and are certain appendages to the Office, are not great, being not above 20000 Dollars yearly, which ariſe from certain Villages in *Romelia*; the reſt of the immenſe riches which accrues to this charge ſo full of cares and danger, flows from all the quarters of the Empire. For no *Baſſaw* or Miniſter of truſt enters his place without his Preſent and Offering to the firſt Viſier, to obtain his conſent, and purchaſe a continuance of his favour. Thoſe that have Governments abroad, have always their Agents at Court, who with gifts continually mollify the Viſier's mind, entreating him to repreſent their ſervice to the Grand Signior in an acceptable and gratefull manner. And though at the Equinoctial in the Spring, all *Paſhaes*, and any that have Governments of note, are obliged to make their Preſents to the Grand Signior of conſiderable value, at which time the firſt Viſier neither will not want his own acknowledgments, he is yet farther treated by all perſons with Sums of Money, as the nature of their buſineſs is, which is not ſecretly, but boldly and confidently demanded, and the bargain beaten as in matters of Merchandize and Trade; and Juſtice and Favours made as vendible and ſet as publick to ſale, as Wares and Commodities are in the Shops and Places of common Mart; ſo that if the firſt Viſier proves covetous (as commonly they do who are raiſed from nothing, and uſed always to thrift, and reſolves to loſe nothing of what he may get) his income is incredible, and may equal that which

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is the Rent of the Grand Signior, and in a few years amaſs immenſe Riches and Wealth. But of this the Prince and the *Turkiſh Policy* is not ignorant, and accordingly provides remedies to drain the inundations of the Viſier's Coffers; at firſt by extorting great ſums of money from him at his entrance to the Charge; then under colour of Friendſhip and Favour the Grand Signior makes him viſits, in requital whereof rich Preſents are made him, as Gratitude for ſo much Honour; next he many times ſends to him for a gift of 100000 Dollars, for Jewels, Horſes, and other things of great value; and in this manner ſeveral contrivances are uſed to turn theſe Rivulets to pay their Tribute to the great Ocean; amongſt which this preſent Grand Signior *Mahomet* the Fourth, hath found out one way amongſt the reſt, putting the Viſier often to the charges of his Dinner, ſending to his Kitchin for 20 Diſhes of Meat, which is the uſual proportion of the Grand Signior's ordinary Table, and by inviting himſelf to a Banquet many times at the Viſier's expences; and this being done ſo frequently, gives the World occaſion to believe that he demands it out of no other deſign than narrowneſs of Soul to ſave the charges of his own Dinner; and the rather it is ſo believed becauſe this Emperour is reputed of a covetous diſpoſition, and of no affinity with *Solyman* the Magnificent. But the ways and means by which the Grand Signior comes in the end to be poſſeſſed of the gains and profits collected by his Viſier, and other Officers, requires a particular diſcourſe apart, which ſhall in its due time and place be treated of; and this ſhall for the preſent ſuffice to have ſpoken concerning the Prime Viſier and his Office.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

The Offices, Dignities, and ſeveral Governments of the Empire.

HE, that will deſcribe the Polities of a Countrey, muſt endeavour eſpecially in the moſt exact and punctual manner poſſible to declare the ſeveral Offices, Dignities and Riches of it, that ſo a more eaſie computation may be calculated of its ſtrength, numbers of Men, Fortifications, Forces by Sea, where beſt defended, and where moſt eaſily vulnerable and expoſed.

The next to the Viſier *Azem* or the firſt Viſier, are the ſeveral *Beglerbegs* (which may not unaptly be compared to Arch-dukes in ſome parts of Chriſtendom) having under their juriſdiction many *Sangiacks* or Provinces, *Beyes*, *Agaes*, and others; To every one of theſe the Grand Signior in honour beſtows three Enſigns (called in Turkiſh *Tugh*) which are ſtaves trimmed with the tail of a Horſe with a golden Bull upon the top, and this is to diſtinguiſh them from *Baſhaws* who have two Enſigns; and the *Sangiack-beg*, who hath alſo the name of *Paſcha*, and hath but one. When a *Paſcha* is made, the Solemnity uſed at the conferring his Office, is a Flag or Banner carried before him, and accompanied with Muſick and Songs by the *Merialem*, who is an Officer for this purpoſe onely, for inveſtiture of *Paſhaes* in their Office.

The Government of *Beglerbegs*, who have ſeveral Provinces called *Sangiacks* under their command, are two ſorts; the firſt is called *Has ile Beglerbeglik*, which

which hath a certain Rent aſſigned out of the Cities, Countries and Signiories allotted to the Principality; the ſecond is called *Saliane Beglerbeglik*, for maintenance of which is annexed a certain Salary or Rent, collected by the Grand Signior's Officers with the Treaſure of the whole Government, out of which are paid alſo the *Sangiack Beglers*, that is, the Lords of the ſeveral Counties, Towns or Cities, and the Militia of the Countrey.

It is impoſſible exactly to deſcribe the Wealth and ways of Gains exerciſed by theſe potent Governours to enrich themſelves; for a *Turk* is ingenious to get Wealth, and haſty to grow rich; howſoever we will ſuccinctly ſet down the certain ſums of Revenue which are granted them by Commiſſion from the Grand Signior, aſſigned them out of every particular place of their Government; beſides which they have the Profits of all Wefts and Strays, goods of Felons, ſale of Vacant Church-offices, Mules, Horſes and Cattle, which by Mortality or other accidents have no certain Maſter; to which may be added the benefit of their *Avanias* or falſe Accuſations, whereby they invade the Right and Eſtates of their Subjects; as alſo of the Robberies of their people and ſtrangers, by their own Slaves and Servants; whom they ſend abroad with that deſign; and having committed the Robberies themſelves, under pretence of diſcovery of the Crime and doing Juſtice, they ſeize the innocent people, torture and impriſon them, and perhaps put ſome to death for expiation of their own offences. To come nearer then to this purpoſe. The *Beglerbegs* of the firſt ſort are in number 22, who have their Revenue allotted them in the places that they Govern, collected by their own Officers according to Commiſſion, of which the firſt is of *Anatolia*, anciently called *Aſia minor*, afterwards *Anatolia*, ἀπὸ τῆ Ἀνατολῆς

Ἀνατολῆς, from its more Eaſtern ſituation in reſpect of *Greece*; the yearly Revenue of which in the Grand Signior's Books, called the old Canon, is a Million of Aſpers, and hath under its juriſdiction 14 *Sangiack*, *Kiotahi* where the *Beglerbeg* reſides, in *Phrygia Major*, *Sarahan*, *Aidin*, *Kaſtamoni*, *Hadanendighiar*, *Boli*, *Menteſche*, *Augora*, otherwiſe *Ancyra*, *Karahyſar*, *Tekeili*, *Kiangri*, *Hamid*, *Sultan Ughi*, *Kareſi*, with the command of 22 Caſtles. An Aſper is about the value of a Halfpenny.

2. *Caramania*, anciently called *Cilicia*, and was the laſt Province which held out belonging to the *Caramanian* Princes, when all places gave way to the flouriſhing progreſs of the *Ottoman* Arms; The Revenue hereof is 660074 Aſpers, and hath under its juriſdiction 7 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Iconium*, which is the Court of the *Beglerbeg* in *Cappadocia*, *Nigkde*, *Kaiſani*, otherwiſe *Ceſanca*, *Jeniſcheheri*, *Kyrſchehri*, *Akschehri*, *Akserai*: And in this Principality are three Caſtles, at *Iconium* one, at *Larende* and *Mendui*, under the *Paſha*'s immediate command, and 17 others in ſeveral *Sangiacks*.

3. *Diarbekir*, otherwiſe *Meſopotamia*, hath a Revenue of a Million two hundred thouſand and ſix hundred and ſixty Aſpers, and hath under its juriſdiction 19 *Sangiacks*, with five other Governments called *Hukinmet* in *Turkiſh*, eleven of which *Sangiacks* are properly belonging to the *Ottoman* Royalties, and eight are *Curdian* Countries, or of the people called *Kurts*; for when *Curdia* was conquered, the Countrey was divided, and diſtinguiſhed into the nature of *Sangiacks*, but with this difference, of right inheritance and ſucceſſion to the Goods and Poſſeſſions of their Parents, and ſucceed as Lords of Manors, or to other petty Governments by Bloud and Kindred. And as other Lords of *Sangiacks*, *Timariots*, or Barons pay the Grand Signior's duties, and hold their Lands in Knights Service, Which ſignifies a free command.

vice, or other Tenure, whereby they are obliged to attend and follow their Commanders to the Wars, whenſoever they are called thereto by the Grand Signior's ſummons: theſe that are regiſtred for *Hukumet* have no *Timariots* or Lords to command them, but are free from all Duties and Impoſitions, and are abſolute Maſters of their own Lands and Eſtates. Thoſe *Sangiacks* which are properly belonging to the *Ottoman* Royalties are *C Harpu*, *Ezani*, *Syureck*, *Neſbin*, *Chatenghif*, *Tchemiſchekrek*, *Seared*, *Muſarkin*, *Aktchiè*, *Kala*, *Habur*, *Sangiar*, otherwiſe *Diarbekir*, which is the place of reſidence of the *Beglerbeg*. Thoſe *Sangiacks* which are entailed upon Families are *Sagman*, *Kulab*, *Mechrani*, *Tergil*, *Atak*, *Pertek*, *Tchifakichur*, *Tchirmek*.

4. Of *Scham* otherwiſe *Damaſcus*, the certain Revenue of which is a Million of Aſpers, and hath under it *Sangiacks* 7 with *Has*, where the Contributions by the *Beglerbeg*'s Officers are collected upon the Countrey, and are *Kuddeſcherif*, alias *Jeruſalem*, *Gaza*, *Sifad*, *Nabolos*, alias *Naples* in *Syria*, *Aglun*, *Bahura* and *Damaſcus*, the City where the *Beglerbeg* reſides. He hath farther three with *Saliane*, for account of which he is paid by the King's Officers; and thoſe are *Kadmar*, *Saida*, *Beru*, *Kiurk*, *Schubeck*, where are no *Timariots*, but the Inhabitants are true and abſolute Maſters of their own Eſtates in the ſame manner as the *Curdi* are, which we have beforementioned; the Caſtles here are for the moſt part demoliſhed, and ſcarce worthy our notice.

5. Is of *Siwas* a City in *Armenia major*, hath a Revenue of Nine hundred thouſand Aſpers, and hath under his Dominions ſix *Sangiacks*, viz. *Amaſia*, *Tchurum*, *Buradick*, *Demurki*, *Gianick*, *Arebkir*, the Caſtles of which are 19.

6. Is the Government of the *Paſcha* of *Erzrum* on the Confines of *Georgia*, hath a Revenue of a Million

Million two hundred thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty Aſpers, and hath under his Government 11 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Karahizar*, *Scharki*, *Kieiſi*, *Paſin*, *Esber*, *Hanes*, *Tekman*, *Turtum*, *Mayenkerd*, *Mamervan*, *Kyzutchan*, *Melazkerd*; and hath 13 Caſtles.

7. Is the Government of the *Paſcha* of *Wan* or *Van* a City in *Media*, hath a Revenue of a Million one hundred and thirty two thouſand two hundred and nine Aſpers, and commands 14 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Adilgiwar*, *Ergiſch*, *Muſch*, *Barkiri*, *Kiarkian*, *Kiſani*, *Eſpaird*, *Agakis*, *Ekrad*, *Benikutur*, *Kalaibaierid*, *Berdea* and *Edegick*.

8. Is the Government of the *Paſcha* of *Tchildir* on the Confines of *Georgia*, hath a Revenue of Nine hundred twenty five thouſand Aſpers, and commands nine *Sangiacks*, viz. *Olti*, *Hartus*, *Ardnug*, *Erdehamburek*, *Hagrek*, *Puſenhaf*, alias *Puſenhal*, *Machgil*, *Igiare*, *Penbeck*, *Pertekrek*.

9. Is the Government of *Scheherezul* in *Aſſyria*, the *Paſcha* of which hath a Revenue of a Million of Aſpers, and commands 20 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Surutkuk*, *Erbil*, *Kiuſchaf*, *Schehribazar*, *Chahkiule*, *Gebthamrin*, *Hezurd Merd*, *Dulchuran*, *Merghiaue*, *Haninudevin*, *Agiur*, *Neitutari*, *Sepeuzengire*, *Ebruuan*, *Taundan*, *Badeberend*, *Belkas*, *Vicheni*, *Garikalo*, *Renghene*.

10. Is the Government of *Halep* or *Aleppo*, hath Eight hundred and ſeventeen thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy two Aſpers Revenue, and commands 7 *Sangiacks* with *Has*, and 2 with *Saliane*: Of the firſt ſort are *Adana*, *Ekrad*, *Kelis*, *Beregek*, *Mearre*, *Gazir*, *Balis*: Of the other are *Matik* and *Turman* which is *Turcomania*, of theſe at this day the Revenue is farmed, and are not called *Sangiacks* but *Agalik*, for in them are no *Timariots*, but every Man is Lord and Maſter of his own Lands. This Government hath five Caſtles.

11. Is the Government of *Maraſch* near the River

Euphrates, ſituated between *Meſopotamia* and *Aleppo*, otherwiſe called by the *Turks*, *Zulkadrie*, hath a Revenue of 628450 Aſpers, and commands four *Sangiacks* onely, *viz.* *Malatia*, *Aſab*, *Kars*, and *Samſad*, and hath four Caſtles.

12. Is the Government of *Kibros* otherwiſe called *Cyprus*, hath a Revenue of Five hundred thouſand ſix hundred and fifty Aſpers, and commands ſeven *Sangiacks*, viz. four with *Has*, and are *Itchili*, *Tarſu*, *Alanie*, *Schis*, the other three with *Saliane*, are *Kenine Baf Mauſa*, *Lefkuſſcha* or *Larnica*, the place of the *Paſcha*'s reſidence is *Nicoſia*.

13. Is the Government of *Tarabolos Scham*, otherwiſe *Tripoly* of *Syria*, hath a Revenue of Eight hundred thouſand Aſpers, at this place the *Paſcha* reſides, and hath under him 4 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Hams*, *Hama*, *Gemele* and *Selemie*, and hath onely one Caſtle in the *Sangiack* of *Hams* called *Faſſulekrad*.

14. Is the Government of *Terbozan*, otherwiſe *Trabezond*, encompaſſed with a ridge of Mountains, according to a Poet born in that place,

Vertice Montano Trapezus incluſa receſſit.

Formerly the Imperial Seat of the *Comneni* reigning over *Cappadocia*, *Galatia*, and the parts of *Pontus*, founded by *Alexius Comnenus*, who upon the taking of *Conſtantinople* by the Weſtern Chriſtians fled to this place, which flouriſhed untill taken by *Mahomet* the Great; it is ſituate on the *Euxine* or Black Sea, and ſtill a place of conſiderable Traffick, eſpecially made rich for the Fiſhing, out of which and the Cuſtoms, the *Paſcha*, though he hath no *Sangiacks* under his Government, hath yet a Revenue allotted of 734850 Aſpers, with 14 Caſtles to defend the City, and the Dominions belonging thereunto.

15. The

15. The Government of the *Paſcha* of *Kars* a City near *Erzrum*, hath a Revenue of Eight hundred twenty thouſand ſix hundred and fifty Aſpers, and commands ſix *Sangiacks*, viz. *Erdehankitntchuk*, *Gingewan*, *Zaruſchan*, *Ghegran*, *Kughizman*, *Paſin*.

16. The Government of the *Paſcha* of *Muſul* otherwiſe called *Nineve* in *Aſſyria*, hath a Revenue of Six hundred eighty one thouſand fifty ſix Aſpers, and commands 5 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Bagiwanlu*, *Tekrit*, *Zerbit*, *Eski Muſul*, or old *Nineve*, and *Hurun*.

17 The Government of the *Paſcha* of *Rika* hath a Revenue of 680000 Aſpers, and commands ſeven *Sangiacks*, viz. *Ghemaſche*, *Chabur*, *Dizirhebe*, *Banirabne*, *Serug*, *Biregek Ane*.

Theſe are all the Governments which are in *Aſia* with *Has*; let us now paſs into *Europe*.

18. Is the Government of the *Paſcha* of *Rumuli*, otherwiſe *Romania*, which is the moſt honourable *Turkiſh* charge in *Europe*, hath a Revenue of a Million and one hundred thouſand Aſpers, the ſeat of the *Paſcha* is *Sofia*, and commands 24 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Kioſtendit* otherwiſe *Juſtiniana*, *Mora* otherwiſe *Morea*, *Skenderi*, *Tirhala*, *Siliſtra*, *Nigeboli*, *Uchri*, *Awlona*, *Jania*, *Ilbrazan*, *Tchirmen*, *Selanik* otherwiſe *Salonica*, *Wize*, *Deluniia*, *Uskiup*, *Kirkkeliſa*, *Dukakin*, *Wedin*, *Alagehizar*, *Serzerin*, *Waltcharin*, *Bender*, *Akkerman*, *Ozi*, *Azak*; But it is to be obſerved, that though *Morea*, according to the ancient Canon, was under the juriſdiction of the *Paſcha* of *Romania*, yet now it is divided and made part of the Revenue of the *Valede* or Queen-Mother, where a Farmer of her Rents and Incomes now reſides.

19. Is the charge of the *Kupidan* otherwiſe Captain *Paſcha*, or as the *Turks* call him, General of the

white Seas, hath a Revenue of 885000 Aſpers; he is Admiral of the Grand Signior's Fleet, and commands as far as the *Turkiſh* power by Sea extends; and commands 13 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Galipoli*, which is the proper place of the *Paſcha*'s reſidence, *Egribuz* otherwiſe *Negropont*, *Karlieli*, *Ainebahti*, *Rhædes*, *Midillu* or *Metilene*, *Kogia Eli*, *Betga*, *Sifla*, *Mezeſtra*, *Sakis*, or the Iſland of *Scio*, *Beneksche* or *Malvatia*; ſome others add *Nicomedia*, *Limnos*, and *Nixia*.

20. Is the Government of the *Paſcha* of *Budun* otherwiſe *Buda* in *Hungary*, hath a Revenue and commands 20 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Agri*, *Kanyſia*, *Samandra*, *Petchui*, *Uſtunubilgrad* or *Stulwiſſenberg*, *Oſtrogon* or *Strigonium*, *Sekdin*, *Chatwan*, *Semutum*, *Sirem*, *Kupan*, *Filek*, *Sekitwar*, *Sekitches*, *Setchre*, *Novigrad*, *Seksard*, *Belgrade* or *Alba Regalis*. And now lately in the year 1663. that *Wiwar* or *Newhawſel* was taken, a new *Sangiack* is ſince added.

21, The *Paſcha* of *Temeſwar* in *Hungary*, hath a Revenue and hath under his command 6 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Lipona*, *Tchanad*, *Ghiola*, *Mudava*, *Waradin*, to which alſo *Janova* is added, conquered in the year 1663.

22. Is the Government of the *Paſcha* of *Boſna*, which is part of *Illyrium*, divided formerly into *Liburnia* and *Dalmatia*, now called *Sclavonia*; his Revenue is a and commands 8 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Hersek*, *Kelis*, *Ezdernik*, *Puzga*, *Feraigne*, *Zagim*, *Kirka*, *Rahvige*.

There are other *Paſchas* of *Coffa*, *Theodeſia* in *Taurica Cherſoneſus*, which having no *Sangiacks*, no *Timariots*, nor *Ziamets* under them, but onely a few beggarly Villages which we ſhall purpoſely omit, as not worthy the notice. And ſo much ſhall be ſaid for the *Paſchaes* or *Beglerbegs* with *Has*, or with the Revenue impoſed upon Countries under their

their command, collected by their own Officers.

Thoſe that are with *Saliane*, or paid out of the Grand Signior's Treaſury, are:

1. The *Paſcha* of *Grand Cairo*, called by the *Turks Miſir*, hath a Revenue of Six hundred thouſand *Scheriffs* or *Zechins* a year, which he may juſtly and honeſtly pretend to; as much is the Tribute yearly paid the Grand Signior from that place; which is moſt commonly brought ſince the War with *Venice* upon Camels backs by land, with a guard of 500 men, not to expoſe it to the danger of being intercepted at Sea; another Sum of Six hundred thouſand *Zechins* yearly goes to the payment of the *Turks* Forces in *Egypt*; beſides the vaſt Sums of Money this *Paſcha* extorts with inſupportable Avarice and Tyranny from the Natives of the Countrey, during the ſpace of his three years Government; by which means he grows exceſſive rich, and able to refund a good ſtream into the Grand Signior's Coffers at his return, as hereafter ſhall be the ſubject of our more large diſcourſe; he commands 16 *Sangiacks* as is reported, but not being regiſtred in the King's Book, I let them paſs without naming them.

2. Is the Government of *Baodat*, otherwiſe *Babylon*, and hath a Revenue of a Million and ſeven hundred thouſand Aſpers, and commands 22 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Dertenk*, *Gezan*, *Gewazir*, *Renk*, *Aidiie*, *Gelle*, *Semwat*, *Remaliie*, *Beiare*, *Derne*, *Debare*, *Waſit*, *Gebkiule*, *Gedide*, *Keſend*, *Kaſrſchirin*, *Ghiilan*, *Karag*, *Anne*, *Aſchah*, *Demurkapn*, *Deirberhiie*, *Karaniie*.

3. Is the Government of the *Paſcha* of *Yemen*, which is in *Arabia Felix*, whoſe place of reſidence is at *Adem* upon the Red Sea; which place and Countrey being recovered for the moſt part again from the *Turk* by the *Arabians*, it is neither needfull to men-

tion the Revenue, nor the *Sangiacks* it formerly commanded.

4. The *Paſha* of the *Abiſſines* hath his reſidence at *Saquen*, a ſmall Iſle in the Red Sea, and commands the Ports of *Meſauna* and *Erkiko*, which the *Turks* lately took from the *Abiſſines*, but this *Paſha* being very poor, and far diſtant from the ſuccours of the *Turks*, we cannot aſſign any *Sangiacks*, or render any thing certain of his Eſtate.

5. In the Government alſo of *Boſra* on the confines of *Perſia*, were reckoned 26 *Sangiacks*, but now not held by the *Turk*, who hath no other power there, nor benefit thence, excepting onely that prayers are made conſtantly for the *Sultan*.

6. In the Government of *Lahſa* on the confines of *Ormus* in *Perſia*, are counted 6 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Aiwen*, *Sakul*, *Negniie*, *Netif*, *Benderazir*, *Giriz*, but theſe Countries are poor, and have ſcarce any place in the Grand Signior's Regiſters.

To theſe we ſhould add the Governments of *Algeirs*, *Tunis* and *Tripoly* in *Barbary*; but that being much fallen off from the *Turks* obedience, and become almoſt independent of themſelves, we ſhall paſs by the diſcourſe of them, eſpecially becauſe of late years the mutual Treaties with *Barbary*, and interchanges of War and Peace with thoſe Countries, hath made the ſtate and condition of that people well known and familiar in *England*.

The uſe of the particular Catalogue foregoing, is to demonſtrate the greatneſs and power of the *Ottoman* Empire, which hath ſo many conſiderable Governments and Principalities in its poſſeſſion, wherewith to encourage and excite the endeavours of Heroick ſpirits to an ambition of great and noble Enterprizes, whereby to merit the Rewards which remain in the power of the *Sultan* to gratifie them with. And alſo to help in the juſt computation of

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the number of men the *Turk* can bring into the Field, every *Paſcha* being obliged for every 5000 Aſpers Rent to bring a Souldier to the War: though notwithſtanding, they often appear for oſtentation and gain of the Grand Signior's favour with more men than their own complement; as in the laſt War with *Germany*, the *Beglerbeg* of *Romania* brought 10000 effective men into the Field.

Of theſe *Beglerbegs* five have the Title of Viſiers, which ſignifies as much as Councellour, *viz.* the *Paſchas* of *Anatolia*, *Babylon*, *Cairo*, *Romania* and *Buda*; which are charges of the greateſt riches, power and fame; the others have their pre-eminence, rank or order according to the Priority of Conqueſt, and Antiquity in the poſſeſſion of the *Turks*.

Theſe are all the great Governments of the Empire, in whoſe reſpective juriſdictions are always three principal Officers, *viz.* the *Mufti*, the *Reis Efendi*, otherwiſe called *Reis Kitab*, which is Lord Chancellor or Secretary of State, or rather thoſe two Offices united into one; the third is *Teſterdar Paſhaw*, or Lord Treaſurer. Theſe three Officers are near Councellours and Attendants on their *Paſhaws*, and ſo alſo they are on the Prime Viſier, whoſe *Mufti*, *Reis Efendi*, and *Teſterdar* have a ſuperiority and dignity above others, and are to them as the Original to the Copy.

Of the *Mufti* we ſhall ſpeak in due place. The *Reis Efendi*, which ſignifies chief of the Writers or Book-men; (for the *Turks* call always Men of the Law, and Profeſſours of the Pen, and Parochial Prieſts by the Title of *Efendi*) is always preſent and attending on the Viſier, for paſſing Orders, Decrees, Patents and Commiſſions into all parts of the Empire; which are daily diſpatched in thoſe numbers into all places, as is incredible; for the *Turks* governing more by their Arbitrary power, and accor-

ding to the exigencies of affairs, than by a ſet rule or form, every buſineſs requires its diſtinct order; and the very Courts of Juſtice are moderated according to the commands and directions they receive from above; by which means the *Reis Efendy*'s hands are filled with ſuch a multitude of buſineſs, as employs great numbers of Writers; and conſequently brings in riches flowing to his Coffers; ſome in which Office, who by their parts, induſtry and courage have gained authority and reſpect, have amaſſed Wealth which might compare with the riches and treaſure of Princes: We ſhall here inſtance in one of late years, famous in *Turky*, for his knowledge and riches, called *Samozade*; one who had piled thoſe heaps of all things that were rich and curious, as were too tedious and long to inſert in a Catalogue in this place. It may ſuffice, that being executed in the time of the laſt Wars againſt the Emperour of *Germany* for ſome Conſpiracy againſt the Great Viſier, ſuch a Treaſure was found appertaining to him (all which was confiſcated to the Grand Signior) as was ſufficient to have enriched and raiſed his Prince, had he been impoveriſhed and in a declining condition.

The other great Officer is the *Teſterdar* or Lord Treaſurer, who receives the Revenue of the Grand Signior, and pays the Souldiery, and makes other publick diſburſements; this Office is different from the Treaſurer of the *Seraglio* (of whom we have already ſpoken) who attends to nothing elſe but the expences of the Court, and to gather in the accidental profits and preſents paid to the Grand Signior; which is ſo conſiderable, that every *Sultan*, (for the moſt part) amaſſes a particular treaſure of his own, which after his death is incloſed in a certain Chamber, and ſhut with an Iron-gate, and the Key-hole ſtopped with Lead, and over the Port is writ in Gol-

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den Letters, *The Treaſure of ſuch a Sultan.* And this ſhall ſuffice to have ſpoken of the Offices and Dignities of the Empire.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Tartars *and* Tartar Han, *and in what manner they depend upon the* Turks.

THE *Tartars* may very well be accounted amongſt the other Princes ſubject to the *Ottoman* power; I mean not the *Aſiatick Tartars*, or the *Tartar* of *Eusbeck* (though ſo much *Mahometan* as to wear green Turbants, and to deduce their Race from the Line of *Mahomet* himſelf) for having conquered *China*, and poſſeſſing a greater Empire than the *Ottoman*, they are far from acknowledging any ſubjection or degree of inferiority to the *Turk*; nor are all the *European Tartars* Subjects to the *Sultan*; for the *Kalmuk* and *Citrahan Tartars* (men of ſtrange barbarity, and countenance different from all the other Race of Mankind) though Profeſſours of the *Mahometan* Religion, are yet faithfully and piouſly obedient to the Duke of *Moſcovy* their lawfull Prince.

But the *Precopentian Tartar*, which inhabits *Taurica Cherſoneſus*, now called *Crim*, the principal City of which is *Theodoſia*, now *Cafa*, and the *Nagaentian Tartar*, which inhabits by the *Palus Meotis* between the Rivers of *Volga* and *Tanais*, are the people which may be accounted amongſt the Subjects, or at leaſt Confederates of this Empire: though onely the City of *Cafa* of all thoſe Dominions, is immediately in poſſeſſion and government of the *Turk*, which in my opinion

opinion appears to be a cautionary Town and Pledge for their obedience; and though the *Han* or Prince of the Country is elective, yet he is choſen out of that true Line, and confirmed by the Grand Signiors, who have always taken upon them a power to depoſe the Father, and in his place conſtitute the Son or next of the Lineage, when found remiſs in affording their Auxiliary helps to the War, or guilty of any diſ-reſpect or want of duty to the *Ottoman* Port.

This preſent *Han* which now governs, called *Mahomet Ghirei* (for that is the Sirname of his Family) remained during the life of his Father (according to the cuſtome of the eldeſt Son of this Prince) a Hoſtage to the *Turk* in *Janboli* a Town in *Thrace*, four days journey diſtant from *Adrianople*, ſituate on the *Euxine* or Black Sea; but from thence upon jealouſie of two near a vicinity to his own Countrey, was removed to *Rhodes*, where he paſſed an obſcure and melancholy life untill the death of his Father, and then being recalled to *Conſtantinople*, had there his Sword girt on, ſwore Fealty to the Grand Signior, with all other formalities performed according to their cuſtome of Regal Inauguration: But being ſetled in his Kingdom, and mindfull of his ſufferings at *Rhodes*, he had ever ſtomached the Pride of the *Ottoman* Emperour, by which, and the diſſuaſion of the *Polonians*, and the other neighbouring *Tartars*, as a thing diſhonourable to ſo ancient and powerfull a people, to reſign the Heir of their Kingdom a Hoſtage to their neighbours; this preſent Prince hath refuſed this part of ſubjection which the Viſier *Kupriuli* often complained of; but not being in a condition to afford a remedy unto it, thought it prudence to diſſemble.

But yet theſe people are eſteemed as Brothers, or near Allies with the *Turk*, to whom for want of Heirs

Heirs Male in the *Ottoman* Line, the Empire is by ancient compact to deſcend; the expectation of which though afar off, and but almoſt imaginary doth yet conſerve the *Tartar* in as much obſervance to the *Turk*, as the hopes of an Eſtate doth a young Gallant, who is allured to a complacency and obſequiouſneſs, with the petulant humour of a Father that adopts him, who is reſolved never to want Heirs of his own Family. And thus the *Tartar* is as obedient as other Subjects; and though the *Turk* exerciſes not his power there by commands, as in other places of his Dominions, but treats all his buſineſs by way of Letters; yet theſe Letters ſerve in the place of Warrants, for the ſignification of the Grand Signior's pleaſure, and are as available as the * Autogra, and other formalities of the Imperial Edict, are in other places (in ſubjection to the *Turk*.) When the *Sultan* writes to the *Cham* of *Tartary*, he uſes this ſtyle,

* The great Character of the Emperours Name affixed at the top of every Command.

To that Government wherein flouriſhes the Maſs, and Original of Regency, on which Fortune depends, and by which Felicity is obtained. Poſſeſſor of Excellent Power, and Eſtabliſhed Glory, elected by the Favour of that King from whom Succours are to be demanded. The King of Crim, Gian, Begh, Ghirai Chaw, *whoſe heighth be for ever maintained.*

After reſpect had to thoſe Bleſſings, which are freighted with Ambar, and ſalutations perfumed with *Narciſſus*, proceeding from the Imperial Grace. *Be it known unto you*, &c.

By ancient Compact between the Empire and the Kingdom of *Tartary*, it is agreed, that whenſoever the Grand Signior goes in perſon to the Wars; the *Tartar Han* is to accompany him in perſon with an Army of one hundred thouſa id Men, but if the Viſier

ſier or ſome other General be in the Field, then is he onely obliged to ſend forty or fifty thouſand under the command of his Son, or ſome principal Officer of his Kingdom, who are paid and maintained out of the booty and pillage they acquire. In the year 1663. the *Tartar* called on occaſion of the War in *Hungary* to the aſſiſtence of the *Turk*, they made ſuch incurſions into that Countrey, *Moravia*, and *Sileſia*, ſacking and burning all Cities and Towns, that they carried away One hundred and ſixty thouſand captive Souls in one year; which preciſe number I am informed from thoſe who had received good information of the Pengik or Certificates that were given upon every head; for the *Tartar* being an abſolute free-booter, makes prize of all that comes within his power; and leſt he ſhould prey on the Subjects of the *Turk*, they are bound to take out atteſtations from certain Regiſters, of the Names, Countries and Age of their Captives, leſt they ſhould deceive the *Turk* with the ſale of thoſe, who are already their own Subjects and Slaves.

The *Tartar* is to the *Turk* as the *Giacall* to the *Lion*, who hunts and finds the prey for the *Lion* to overcome and feed on: And ſo the *Tartars* make incurſions into the neighbouring Countries round about, and paſs in great bodies ſometimes ten or twelve days without doing the leaſt damage or ſpoil in their journey outward; but as ſoon as they turn their faces home, they rob, ſpoil, burn and carry all the Inhabitants of what Age or Sect ſoever, like a torrent before them; and every one of them leading three or four horſes apiece, on which they mount their Captives and load their prey, make a running march day and night with few hours intermiſſion for natural repoſe, too faſt for any orderly Army to overtake; and any other, that is not ſo,

is

is not able to give them battel. Such of their Slaves as in their journey are wounded and infirm, and not able to accompany the Camp, they kill; thoſe which they bring ſafe into their own Countrey they ſell to the *Turks*, who come thither to trade for this Merchandize, which is the moſt profitable Commodity that *Tartary* affords. Young Boys and Girls are rated at the higheſt Price, the latter of which being beautifull are like Jewels held at an unknown value; but few of them eſcape the luſt of the *Tartars*, who deflower them even in the years of their very infancy. This ſort of People were by the Ancients called *Sarmati*, and were always famous for their exploits on Horſeback, but heavy and ignorant of Foot-ſervice; which Character *Tacitus* gives of them, *Lib. 1. Hiſt. Omnis Sarmatum virtus quaſi extra ipſos, nihil ad pedeſtrem pugnam, tam ignavum ubi per turmas advenere, vix ulla acies obſtiterit, iners videtur ſudore acquirere, quod poſſis ſanguine parare, mirâ diverſitate naturæ cum iidem homines ſic ament inertiam, & oderint quietem:* They live very hardly, and feed eſpecially on Horſe-fleſh, which dying in their march, they never examine his Diſeaſes, whether ſurfeited or overheated; but diſtributing his Fleſh amongſt their Companions, place it under their Saddles: and thus baked between the heat of the Man and the Horſe, chafed with that day's labour, is at night judged ſufficiently prepared, as a Diſh fit for the Table of their Prince.

And as the Men are nouriſhed with a Diet of raw Fleſh, Herbs and Roots, or ſuch as the Earth naturally produces without the concoction of the Fire to prepare it for their Stomachs; ſo alſo their Horſes are of a hardy temperament, patient of hunger and cold, and in the ſharp Winter of thoſe Countries, when the ground is covered with Snow, nouriſh

riſh themſelves with the Barks of Trees, and ſuch Herbage as they can find at the bottom of the deep Snow. Their Towns or Villages conſiſt of Huts rather than Houſes, or hurdles made with ſticks and covered with a courſe hair Cloth; of which Villages there are accounted Two hundred thouſand, ſo that taking one man out of every Village (as their cuſtome is when they go to the War (they ſpeedily form an Army of Two hundred thouſand fighting men. But now having carried great Riches out of *Poland*, and gained a conſiderable wealth by the Market of their Slaves, ſome of them throw off their homely Plads to wear Sables, and ſome more frugal, employ their Money for building Houſes; the riotous and diſſolute are addicted to ſtrong Waters, and a drink called *Boza* made of a certain ſeed (which drank in a great quantity doth intoxicate, and is now much in uſe amongſt the *Turks*) and give themſelves up to a gluttony, as brutiſh as that which is natural unto Swine, having no art of ſauces to provoke their appetite, but reſt delighted with the mere contentment of idleneſs and a full ſtomach.

But this ſhall be ſufficient to have ſpoken of the relation the *Tartars* have to the Government of the *Turk*, and their ſubjection to this Empire, their Cuſtoms and Manners being more amply and fully deſcribed in other Books.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Tributary Princes to the Grand Signior, *viz.* Moldavians, Valachians, Tranſylvanians, Raguſeans, *&c.*

THE Power and Puiſſance of an Empire is not more judged of by the many Governours, the rich Offices it can diſpoſe of, the multitude of Provinces it contains in obedience, and the neceſſity it can impoſe on other Princes to ſeek its confederacy (which we have already treated of) than it is by the many Tributaries which to redeem the remainder of their worldly Goods, willingly ſacrifice the beſt part to appeaſe his fury, in whoſe power it is to maſter all: and ſo theſe diſtreſſed Nations, long wearied out with tedious Wars, oppreſſed between the Emperour of *Germany*, the *Polander*, and the *Turk*, and more damaged by their own civil diſſentions and domeſtick perfidiouſneſs, than vanquiſhed by the force of Arms, were forced at laſt to ſurrender up their fruitfull Provinces to the devotion of the *Turk*, which are now haraſſed and oppreſſed beyond all expreſſion, and are the meereſt ſlaves to the *Turk* of all other his ſubjects; and may well be compared to the induſtrious Bee and profitable Sheep, whom he cares for and maintains alive for the ſake of their Honey, and the intereſt of their Wool; and as if all this were too little, when it ſhall be ſo thought fit, he opens the Gate to the incurſions of the *Tartar*, who having gained a conſiderable booty of Goods and Captives, ſells to the

Turks

Turks for Slaves, thoſe which were before his Subjects. Theſe three poor Provinces formerly called the *Daci*, which withſtood ſo long the *Roman* Arms, were always eſteemed a valiant and warlike People, according to that of *Virgil*, lib. 8. *Æn.*

Indomitique Dacæ, & pontem Indignatus Araxes.

Et Juvenal. *Sat.* 5.
Dacius & ſcripto radiat Germanicus antro.

Which Countries have been the Graves and Cemeteries of the *Turks*, and in theſe modern times been the Stage on which ſo many Tragedies of War have been acted, being defended with as much valour and variety of ſucceſſes, as could humanely be expected in ſo unequal a Match as was between thoſe Provinces ſingly and the *Ottoman* Empire. But now at laſt they are forced to yield, and become not onely Tributaries, but Slaves and Subjects to the *Turk*, who having deprived them of the true Line of their natural Princes ſucceeding in a lawfull Inheritance, place over them ſome Chriſtians of the Greek Church, without conſideration of their conditions or riches, or qualifications; nay rather chuſe to give the Standard (which is the ſign of the Grand Signior's confirmation of the Prince) to ſome inferiour perſon, as Taverners, Fiſhmongers, or other meaner Profeſſions, purpoſely to diſparage the people with the baſeneſs of their Governours, and expoſe them to the oppreſſions of men of no worth or dexterity in their Office. It hath ſeveral times been under the conſideration of the *Turks*, at length to reduce theſe three Provinces to the command of ſo many *Paſhaws*; contrary to the original Capitulations agreed on at the time that theſe people firſt ſubmitted to the *Ottoman* Yoke: but as yet it hath been

been carried to the contrary, as more profitable and better ſerving the Ends of the Empire; for hereby Chriſtians become the inſtruments of torment to their own Brethren; Outrages and Spoils may be the more boldly acted; more Turkiſh Officers employed on every ſlight occaſion on gainfull meſſages, and the people by long oppreſſions living under the juriſdiction of a Prince, who can rather ſpoil than protect, may be reconciled more willingly to the *Turkiſh* Government, and learn to value the gentleneſs and power of a *Paſha*, compared with the remembrance of their former agrievances. But of this Government they will rather let them imagine the eaſe and ſweetneſs than enjoy it; for were a *Paſhaw* the Governour, the power of a *Turk* would be concerned for their protection, he would eſteem himſelf their Patron, and his honour engaged in their defence, by which means theſe Countries would be relieved in a great meaſure of extortions and violences, which is not ſo beneficial to the *Turk*, as the preſent miſerable eſtate in which they remain.

Moldavia called by the *Turks Bugdan*, was firſt made Tributary to the *Turks* by *Mahomet* the Great, but under the ſmall Tribute of 2000 Crowns *per annum*; afterwards *Bogdanus*, *Vayvod* thereof, *Anno* 1485. fearing to become abſolute Vaſſal to the *Turk*, taking to his aſſociation the Kingdom of *Poland*, took up Arms againſt *Selymus* the Second, by whom being drawn out from his Countrey, *John* a *Moldavian* born, but one who had embraced the *Mahometan* Superſtition, was preferred by *Selymus* to the Principality; but no ſooner was he ſetled therein but he returned to his former Religion, for which cauſe the *Turk* taking into his aſſiſtence the Province of *Valachia*, made War upon *Moldavia*; but *John* the *Vayvod* by treachery loſing his life, this

Moldavia.

The word *Vayvod* ſignifies as much as *præfectus Militiæ*, or the General of an Army.

Province fell totally into the power of the *Turk*, and was united to his Empire in the year 1574. The Tribute in thoſe days of this Province is recorded in the *Turkiſh* Hiſtory to have been 40000 *Zechins* or 80000 Dollars; but now whatſoever may be reported, the Tribute of theſe Countries is, or was, the Reader may take this following Account for what is certainly paid, being related to me from one who had many years been employed for *Vayvod* both in *Moldavia* and *Valachia* by the *Turk*, viz. the yearly Tribute of *Moldavia* is,

Its annual Tribute.

1. To the Grand Signior 120 Purſes of Money; each Purſe containing 500 Dollars, makes 60000 Dollars.

2. Ten thouſand Okes of Wax, each Oke being two pounds and a half *Engliſh* weight.

3. Ten thouſand Okes of Honey.

4. Six hundred Quintals of Tallow for the *Arſenal*.

5. Five hundred Ox Hides.

6. Five hundred Pieces of Canvas for Cloathing, and Shirts for the Slaves, and other ſervices for the Gallies.

7. One thouſand three hundred and thirty Okes of Wax for the ſervice of the *Arſenal*.

8. To the chief Viſier ten Purſes of Money, or 5000 Dollars, and a Sables Fur for a Veſt.

9. To the Viſiers *Kahija* or chief Steward, one Purſe, or 500 Dollars.

10. To the *Tefterdar* or Lord Treaſurer the ſame, as to the *Kahija*.

This is the ordinary and annual Tribute this Countrey acknowledges to the ſupremacy of the *Sultan*; and it were well and happy for this people were it all; but there are ſo many accidental expences, pretenſions, and artifices of the *Turks*, framed and contrived meſſages merely to extract Money

Money and Preſents from this oppreſſed and haraſſed people, as do more than equal, and ſometimes double the charge of their yearly Tribute. To which you may add the Price paid for the Principality, which is every three years ſet to ſale, and is

To the Grand Signior 150 Purſes, or 75000 Dollars. The Price of the Principality.

To the *Valede* or Queen-mother 50 Purſes, or 25000 Dollars.

To the Grand Signior's Favourite, who is commonly ſome handſome young Youth, 10 Purſes, or 5000 Dollars.

And to the *Kuſlir Aga* or chief Black Eunuch, who is Superintendent over the Ladies in the *Seraglio*, 10 Purſes of Money.

And laſtly, To the Prime Viſier and other Officers for as much as they can beat the Bargain. All which Money is taken up at Intereſt at 40 or 50 *per cent.* and ſometimes on condition to be doubled; and this is done by Men who having no Eſtates of their own, the debt comes to be charged on their Countrey, which is pillaged and poled for it to the very Bones, firſt to ſatisfy the Price of the Principality with the Intereſt-money for what it is valued, then to pay the annual Tribute, then to ſatisfy the multitude of covetous *Turks*, who like ſo many Vultures purſue after the Skeleton of this conſumed Carkaſs: And laſtly, the Prince himſelf muſt take his Accounts, and take his Meaſures to be capable for the future, after he hath laid aſide the Ornament of his Office, to live in ſome proportion agreeable to his paſt condition; and this is neither done moderately nor modeſtly, but with a covetouſneſs and greedy appetite, commonly incident to the nature of men born of mean Parentage, and educated with the parſimony of a ſcanty Houſe; who alſo thereunto add many grains of allowance

to the limits of their gains, in conſideration of the yearly Gratuities they muſt make to reconcile the Friendſhip of the *Turkiſh* Miniſters, whereby they may enjoy protection for their Perſons and Eſtates.

The ſtate and condition of the Province of *Walachia* is not better, but rather worſe, and more afflicted than that of *Moldavia*; for this Countrey is now equally with the former in the ſole and entire diſpoſal and poſſeſſion of the *Turk*, to whom it became firſt Tributary under their own Princes in the time of *Sultan Bajazet*: Afterward in the year 1462. *Mahomet* the Great undertook the entire Conqueſt of it, then governed by its *Vayvod Wladus*, whoſe younger Brother ſupported by the *Turk*, and Factious Party in that Countrey, poſſeſſed himſelf of the Principality, contenting himſelf to be Vaſſal to the *Turkiſh* Empire; afterwards in the year 1595. *Michael* the *Vayvod* thereof joining himſelf with *Sigiſmund* of *Tranſylvania*, and with the *Vayvod* of *Moldavia* waged a long and terrible War againſt the *Turks*. untill revolutions, unquietneſs and factions have ſo ſpent them as that they are at length become another addition to the Empire of the *Turk*, who now impoſe on them a heavy Yoke and ſtrait Curb, not to be imputed to any thing more than to Divine Juſtice, which takes occaſion to exerciſe a hand of ſeverity againſt the unſeaſonable negligence, ſedition, and variance of Chriſtians amongſt themſelves, at a time when the common enemy to their profeſſion attended onely the opportunity of their own diſſentions, to enter and devour them.

The Tribute of *Walachia* to the Grand Signior, was formerly 120 Purſes of Money, or 60000 Dollars yearly, according to that of *Moldavia*, and ſo ſtill continued had not lately *Matthew* the *Vayvod* about the year 1655. grown rich, and therefore

fore forgetfull of his condition (having by Friends and large Preſents at the Port, procured a continuation of his Office for the ſpace of nineteen or twenty years) rebelled againſt the *Turk*, taking falſe meaſures of his Wealth and Power, as able to encounter with the puiſſance of the *Ottoman* Empire; but being ſoon put to the worſt and forced to yield, his life was ſpared, and the ſafety of his Countrey redeemed upon the augmentation of their Tribute; ſo that now, that which yearly paid being 120 Purſes of Money,

1. Is become to the Grand Signior 260 Purſes, or 130000 Dollars.
2. There is paid 15000 Okes of Honey.
3. Nine thouſand Okes of Wax.
4. To the Prime Viſier ten Purſes of Money, or 5000 Dollars, and a Veſt of Sables.
5. To the *Tefterdar* or Lord Treaſurer one Purſe of Money, or 50 Dollars, and a Veſt of Sables.
6. To the *Kuſlir Aga*, or chief Eunuch of the Women 12000 Aſpers.
7. To the Viſier's *Kahija* or Steward 500 Dollars, and a Veſt of Sables.

Every Oke is two pounds and a half Engliſh.

The other charges and value ſet on this Province when triennially ſold, is no leſs than that of *Moldavia*; the method and art uſed for extorting Money from thence are the ſame, the oppreſſion in every point equal, unleſs the remembrance of the extravagant diſorder of *Matthew* the *Vayvod* ſtill kept in mind, emboldens the *Turk* with more confident pretences to work more deſolation and impoveriſhment in this Province. Now lately a Prince was ſetled there by order of the Grand Signior, in the year 1664. called *Stridia Bei* by the *Greeks*, which ſignifies a Lord that had gained ſome fortune from ſelling Oyſters and Fiſh; this perſon ſucceeded *Gregoraſco* the late Prince, who fearing the anger of the

Prime Viſier for returning home with his Army without licence, defeated by General *Suſa* near *Lewa*, fled for ſafety of his life into the Dominions of the Emperour: The *Turks* who always avenge the Crimes of the Governours on the People, or of the Subjects on the Governours, raiſed the Price of the Principality to a higher value, cauſing *Stridia Bei* (as I am confidently informed, who was contented to accept it at any rate) to pay for it 800 Purſes of Money, or 400000 Dollars; to which being added the intereſt beforementioned, the ſum may eaſily be computed that this new *Vayvod* engulfed himſelf in; and I leave the Reader to imagine with what glad hearts and bleſſings the People of that Countrey went forth to receive their Bankrupt Prince.

Nor is *Tranſylvania* wholly exempted from the oppreſſion of the *Turk*; for after ſeveral revolutions from the time of *Huniades* made *Vayvod* by *Uladiſlaw* the fourth King of *Hungary*, *Anno* 1450. a great Defender of his Countrey againſt the Infidels, untill the time of *Stephen* the Seventh, ſirnamed *Ragotzki*, Patronized by the *Turks*, *Anno* 1450. This Principality remained ſometimes at the devotion and diſpoſal of the King of *Hungary*, of *Poland*, of the Emperour, and ſometimes of the *Turk*; untill by the growing greatneſs of the *Ottomans*, the *Turks* became Maſters of the beſt part of this Countrey. But yet *Tranſylvania* is more tenderly and more honourably treated than the other two Provinces, their Tribute being much leſs, and their Princes choſen for the moſt part more regularly from the ancient Line, or at leaſt from the honourable Houſes of the Boyars or Nobility, who have an affinity or alliance with the true Bloud of the former *Vayvods*. Their ancient Tribute was onely 6000 *Zechins* yearly, but afterwards were added 9000 more annually, for acknowledgment of certain Caſtles which

Ragotzki

Ragotzki had taken from *Poland*, which the *Turk* demanded to have reſigned into his poſſeſſion, were for that Sum redeemed, and ſtill detained in the hands of the *Tranſylvanians*; over and above which they onely pay 300 Dollars and two Silver Bowls to the ſeven Viſiers of the Bench: And this is all the acknowledgment they make to the *Turk*, who demonſtrates more reſpect always to this Prince and his Meſſages, than thoſe of the neighbour Provinces, by reaſon that that Countrey is not totally in his power (certain ſtrong Fortreſſes being in the hand of the Emperour of *Germany*) for whoſe ſake this people is more gently dealt with, leſt too much ſeverity ſhould occaſion them to revolt; and this conſideration induced the *Turks* to treat modeſtly with *Michael Apaſi* the Prince of this Countrey in the late Wars in *Hungary*, by truſting much to his conduct, by uſing him like an honourable Confederate, by permitting him freely to poſſeſs *Zekelhyd* after its voluntary ſurrender in a Mutiny, without the controllment or ſuperintendency of a *Turk* as his Superiour; and for his farther encouragement gave out, that when the *Sultan* had totally ſubdued *Hungary*, thoſe parts which were not ſubject to *Paſhaws*, ſhould be annexed to his Dominions, and he honoured with the Title of King of *Hungary*.

Theſe Princes of the three foregoing Provinces are farther obliged to ſerve the Grand Signior in his Wars, whenſoever ſummoned thereto; but with what number, and in what manner, we reſerve for its due place in the Treatiſe of the *Turks* Militia and Auxiliaries.

The City and ſmall Dominion of *Raguſi*, is alſo another Tributary to the *Turk*; which is a petty Commonwealth, not vouchſafed the Title of a Republick, neither by the *Venetians*, nor the *Pope*, and onely ſtyled *la communità di Raguſi*, which is a Town

in *Dalmatia*, commanding over a narrow and barren Territory of a few Villages, which for the ſpace of 150 miles extends it ſelf along the Sea Coaſt, and ſome little Iſlands of no great conſideration: It was anciently called *Epidaurus* (of which name there were two other Cities in *Peloponneſus*) but that being raſed by the *Goths*, the Inhabitants after their departure rebuilt again this City of *Raguſi*, giving it a new name as well as a new foundation. The Government of it in the nature of a Commonwealth is more ancient than that of *Venice*, having preſerved it ſelf more by art and ſubmiſſion to ſome powerfull Protectour, than to its own force; which cauſed them to court the friendſhip of the *Turk*, before he was Maſter of any part of *Europe*, and as their Records report, it was upon the advice of a Holy Nun, eſteemed a great Saint amongſt them; who propheſying of the future greatneſs of the *Turkiſh* Empire, aſſured them that the onely means to preſerve for many Ages their Commonwealth free and happy, was to ſubmit themſelves to one of the moſt proſperous of Princes, to whoſe Dominion the beſt part of the World ſhould be ſubdued: Whereupon two Ambaſſadours were diſpeeded to the City of *Pruſa* (then the Regal Seat, before the utter ruine of the *Grecian* Empire) with Preſents to the *Sultan Orchanes*, deſiring to become his Tributaries, and in conſideration thereof to ſtrengthen their weak Commonwealth with aſſiſtence, under the ſhadow of his prevalent protection. There is no doubt, but the *Sultan* then received them the more courteouſly, and promiſed the maintenance of a former League, by how much the diſtance they were at as yet, gave them the leſs cauſe to fear his Arms; wherefore the Tribute being agreed on of Twelve thouſand and five hundred *Zechins* yearly, they were returned home with all demonſtrations of courteſie,

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and aſſurances of defence: *Orchanes* entred into Articles with them, beſtowed on them a grant of all the Immunities and Privileges they deſired, the which he ſigned with the form of his whole hand wetted in Ink and clapped on the Paper, which was all the Firm and Seal in thoſe days, and is now reverenced amongſt the *Turks* with the ſame eſteem, as the *Jews* do the Tables of *Moſes*, or we the moſt ſacred and holy Reliques; ever ſince that time this Tribute hath yearly continued, and been brought always in the month of *July* by two Ambaſſadours, who reſide at the *Turkiſh* Court for the ſpace of a year, the former returning home; theſe are relieved at the ſame ſeaſon of the following year, by the acceſſion of two others with the like Tribute; which with the Preſents they alſo bring to the Prime Viſier, chief Eunuch of the Women, the Queen-mother and other *Sultans*, with the charges and expences of the Embaſſie, is computed to amount yearly to the Sum of twenty thouſand *Zechins*.

They were in times paſt, before the War between the Republick of *Venice* and the *Turk*, very poor, and put to hard ſhifts and arts to raiſe the *Turkiſh* Tribute; but this War hath opened their ſcale, and made it the Port for tranſmitting the Manufactures of *Venice* and all *Italy* into *Turkey*, which yields them ſuch conſiderable Cuſtoms, as thereby their Tribute is ſupplied with advance, and other neceſſities provided for: So that now the old Ornaments of the Ambaſſadours, as their black Velvet Bonnets, and Gowns of Crimſon Satten, lined heretofore with *Martins* Fur, but now with Sables: are not laid up in the common Wardrobe for the Ambaſſadours of the ſucceeding year, but a new Equipage and Accoutrements are yearly ſupplied at the common charge: and thus they paſs

honeſtly and in good eſteem at the *Ottoman* Court, being called the *Dowbrai Vendick* by the *Turks*, or the good *Venetian*.

This petty Republick hath always ſupported it ſelf by ſubmiſſion, and addreſſes for favour and defence to divers powerfull Princes, courting the favour of every one, never offering injuries, and when they receive them, patiently ſupport them; which is the cauſe the *Italians* call them *le ſette bandiere*, or the ſeven Banners, ſignifying that for their being and maintenance of the name of a free Republick, they are contented to become Slaves to all parts of the World. And it is obſervable on what a ſtrange form of jealous Policy their Government is founded; for their chief Officer who is in imitation of their Doge at *Venice*, is changed every month, others weekly; and the Governour of the principal Caſtle of the City, is but of 24 hours continuance; every night one is nominated by the Senate for Governour, who is without any preparation or ceremony taken up as he walks the Streets, having a Hankerchief thrown over his face, is led away blindfold to the Caſtle, ſo that none can diſcover who it is that commands that night; and by that means all poſſibility of conſpiracy or combination of betraying the Town prevented. Theſe people in former times were great Traders into the Weſtern parts of the World; and it is ſaid, that thoſe vaſt *Caracks* called *Argoſies*, which are ſo much famed for the vaſtneſs of their burthen and bulk, were corruptly ſo denominated from *Ragoſies*, and from the name of this City, whoſe Port is rather forced by Art and Induſtry, than framed by nature.

The Tributaries of *Georgia* and *Mengrelia*.

Some of the Provinces alſo of *Georgia*, formerly *Iberia*, but now ſuppoſed to be called from St. *George* the *Cappadocian* Martyr, and the poor Countrey of *Mengrelia*, are alſo Tributaries to the *Turk*, who every

every three years ſend Meſſengers with their ſacrifice to the Grand Signior of ſeven young Boys, and as many Virgins a-piece, beſides other Slaves for Preſents to great Men; this people chuſe rather this ſort of Tribute than any other, becauſe cuſtome hath introduced a forwardneſs in the Parents without remorſe to ſell their Children, and to account Slavery a preferment, and the miſeries of a Servitude a better condition than Poverty with freedom; of the whole Retinue which theſe beggarly Ambaſſadours bring with them (for ſo the *Turks* called them) being about ſeventy or eighty perſons, a crue of miſerable people are all ſet to ſale, to the very Secretary and Steward, to defray the charge of the Embaſſie, and bring back ſome Revenue to the publick Stock; ſo that the Ambaſſadours return without their Pomp, reſerving onely the Interpreter as a neceſſary Attendant to their Voyage home.

The Emperour of *Germany* may alſo not improperly be termed one of the Tributaries to the *Ottoman* Empire (whom for honours ſake we mention in the laſt place in ſo ungratefull an Office) being obliged according to the Articles made with *Solyman* the Magnificent to pay a yearly Tribute of 3000 *Hungars*, but it was onely paid the firſt two years after the concluſion of the Peace; afterwards it was excuſed by the *Germans*, and diſſembled by the *Turks*; untill taking a reſolution to make a War on *Hungary*, made that one ground and occaſion of the breach: for upon the Truce made for eight years between *Sultan Solyman*, and the Emperour *Ferdinand*, as *Augerius Busbeck* reports in thoſe Capitulations, that the Tribute is made the foundation of the accord. *Cujus concordiæ, pacis ac confœderationis hæ conditiones ſunto primò, ut tua dilectio quotannis ad aulam noſtram pro arra induciarum*

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30000 *Hungaricos Ducatos mittere teneatur, unà cum reſiduo, quod nobis proxime præterlapſum biennium reſervetur.*

CHAP. XV.

The Deſolation and Ruine which the Turks *make of their own Countries in* Aſia, *and the parts moſt remote from the Imperial Seat, eſteemed one cauſe of the conſervation of their Empire.*

THIS Poſition will appear a Paradox at firſt ſight to moſt men who have read and conſider'd the *Roman* Conqueſt, whoſe juriſdiction and dominions were far larger than this preſent Empire; and yet we do not find that they ſo ſtudiouſly endeavoured to diſpeople, and lay waſte the Nations they ſubdued; but rather encouraged induſtry in Plantations, gave Privileges to Cities meanly ſtored, invited People to inhabit them, endeavoured to improve Countries rude and uncultivated with good Husbandry, and Maritime Towns with Traffick and Commerce; made Citizens of their Confederates, and conferred on their conquered Subjects oftentimes greater benefits than they could expect or hope for under their true and natural Princes; and certainly the *Romans* thrived and were richer and more powerfull by their Policy; and therefore why the *Turk* might not proceed in the ſame manner, and yet with the ſame advantage, is worth our conſideration.

For the ſolution of which difficulty, it will be neceſſary to conſider, that theſe two Empires being com-

compared, there will be found a vaſt difference in the original, foundation, progreſs and maxims each of other. For the *Romans* built their City in Peace, made Laws by which the Arbitrary Will of the Prince was corrected; and afterward as their Arms ſucceeded, and their Dominions were extended, they accommodated themſelves often to preſent neceſſities and humours, and conſtitutions of the people they had conquered, and accordingly made proviſion, and uſed proper Arts to keep them in obedience; and next, by their generoſity and wiſedom won thoſe Nations to admire and imitate their vertues, and to be contented in their ſubjection. But the *Turks* have but one ſole means to maintain their Countries, which is the ſame by which they were gained, and that is the cruelty of the Sword in the moſt rigorous way of execution, by killing, conſuming, and laying deſolate the Countries, and tranſplanting unto parts where they are neareſt under the command and age of a Governour; being wholly deſtitute and ignorant of other refined Arts, which more civilized Nations have in part made ſerve in the place of violence. And yet the *Turks* made this courſe alone anſwer to all the intents and ends of their Government.

For the Subjects of this Empire being governed better by Tyranny than Gentleneſs, it is neceſſary, that courſes ſhould be taken whereby theſe people may remain more within compaſs and reach of Authority; which they would hardly be, were every part of this Empire ſo well inhabited to afford entertainment within the Fortifications of its vaſt Mountains and Woods, to the many unquiet and diſcontented ſpirits that live in it. And this may be one cauſe, that ſo rarely Rebellions ariſe amongſt the *Turks*, though in the remoteſt parts of *Aſia*; and when they do, are eaſily ſuppreſſed: This

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alſo is one cauſe, why great Men ſo eaſily reſign themſelves up to the Will of the Grand Signior to puniſhment and death, whether the Sentence be according to Law, or onely Arbitrary: This is the reaſon that Fugitives and Homicides cannot eſcape; for having no place for flight, neither the inhabited Cities which are immediately under the eye of a vigilant Commander will afford them refuge, nor can the deſolate Countries entertain them; and Chriſtendom is ſo abhorred by them, that they will never take it for their Sanctuary. And thus deprived of all means of ſafety, they wholly attend to pleaſe and ſerve their Great Maſter, in whoſe favour and hands alone is the reward and puniſhment.

Another advantage, and that not inconſiderable, that this manner of diſpeopling the Countrey brings to this Empire, is the difficulty an Enemy would find in their march, ſhould they with a Land-army attempt to penetrate far into the Countrey; for without great quantities of Proviſion they could not poſſibly be ſuſtained; from the Countrey none can be expected; what little it affords, the Inhabitants will conceal or carry away, and leave all places as naked and barren of Food for Man as the Sea it ſelf.

And though it is known often, that in *Aſia* the Troops of ſome diſcontented *Bei* or *Aga*, to the number of three or four hundred men, in the Summer-time having their retirements in the Woods and Mountains, aſſault *Caravans*, and rob all Paſſengers from whom there is any hope of Booty; yet in the Winter they are diſperſed, becauſe they have no Quarters againſt the Weather, nor Proviſions for humane ſuſtenance, every one ſhifting for himſelf in ſome place where his condition is the leaſt known or ſuſpected.

And it may not be here from our purpoſe to admoniſh

moniſh the Reader, that as the *Turks* account it one good part of their Policy, to lay a conſiderable part of their Empire deſolate; ſo on the contrary, they obſerve in their new Conqueſts to fortify, ſtrengthen and confirm what they have gained, by numbers of people, and new Colonies of their own; and when they have reduced any conſiderable Countrey to their ſubjection, they commonly are inclined to make Peace with that Prince from whom they have won it, ſo as to have time to ſettle and ſecure their new Conqueſts; for Countries overrun in haſte, are almoſt as ſpeedily again recovered, and are like Tempeſts and ſudden Storms, which are the ſooner diſperſed for being violent. *Auguſtus Cæſar*, who was a wiſe and judicious Prince, conſidering the extent of the *Roman* Empire, wrote a Book, ſaith *Tacitus*, which was publiſhed after his death, wherein he deſcribed the publick Revenue, the number of Citizens and Confederates liſted for the War, the Fleets, Kingdoms, Provinces, Tributes, Cuſtoms, *&c. Addideratque inſuper Conſilium coercendi intra terminos imperii, incertum*, ſaith that Authour, *metu, an per invidiam*; which doubtleſs this wiſe Emperour meant of a moderate, and not a precipitate progreſs of their Arms, as well as of preſcribing fixed limits to the ultimate confines of the Empire, beyond which a Statute ſhould be made of *Non plus ultra*, notwithſtanding the moſt promiſing deſigns and incitements that could offer. *Tac.* lib. 1. Annal.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

All Hereditary ſucceſſion in Government, as alſo the preſervation of an ancient Nobility, againſt the Maxims of the Turkiſh Polity.

HAving formerly entred into diſcourſe of the ſeveral great Officers of State, it will be neceſſary to declare what care the *Turks* take to preſerve the body of their Empire free of Faction and Rebellion; for there being many Provinces in the *Sultan*'s Gift, which are remote, rich and powerfull, and ſo adminiſter temptation to the Governours to throw off the yoke of their dependence, and make themſelves and their Poſterity abſolute; great care is taken to prevent this miſchief by ſeveral Arts, none of which hath been more effectual amongſt the *Turks*, nor more ſedulouſly practiſed, than the deſtruction of an ancient Nobility; and admitting no ſucceſſion to Offices of Riches, but onely in the direct *Ottoman* Line, as my Lord *Verulam* ſays, *Eſſay* 14. *A Monarchy where there is no Nobility at all, is ever pure and abſolute Tyranny, as that of the* Turks; *for Nobility attempers Sovereignty, and draws the people ſomewhat aſide from the Line Royal.* By which means it comes to paſs, that *Paſhaws* education in the *Seraglio* (in the manner as we have ſaid before) without knowledge of their Bloud or Family, and without the ſupport of powerfull relations or dependencies, being ſent abroad to foreign Governments, where they continue but for a ſhort ſeaſon, have no opportunity or poſſibility of advancing any intereſt of their own above that of the *Sultan*. And though

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ſome have out of an aſpiring and ambitious Spirit, aſſumed a blind confidence of renting away part of the Empire; as *Aſan Aga Paſhaw* of *Aleppo* of late years, with a ſtrong and powerfull Army marched as far as *Scutari*, threatning the Imperial City; and the *Turkiſh Hiſtory* tells us of the revolt of ſeveral *Paſhaws*; yet all theſe Rebellions have been but of ſhort durance; the Grand Signior never deſigning by open force and dint of Sword, to try his Title to the Empire with his own ſlaves, but onely by ſome ſecret Plot and Strategeme, getting the Head of the Rebel, he is aſſured of the Victory without other hazard or diſpute of War: for immediately thereupon the whole Army diſperſes, and every one ſhifts by flight to ſave himſelf from the *Sultan*'s anger; nor is it imaginable it can be otherwiſe; for theſe men are but ſtrangers and foreigners in the Countries they ruled, have no relations there or kindred to ſecond or revenge their quarrel, have no ancient bloud or poſſeſſions which might entitle their Heirs to the ſucceſſion, or out of affection or pity move their ſubjects to intereſt themſelves in their behalf; but being cut off themſelves, all falls with them, which affords the ſtrangeſt ſpectacle, and example of Fortune's unconſtancy in the World; for a *Turk* is never reverenced but for his Office, that is made the ſole meaſure and rule of his greatneſs and honour, without other conſiderations of Vertue or Nobility. And this is the reaſon the *Turks* value not their great Men when taken by the Enemy; for not otherwiſe looking on them than on ordinary Soldiers, they exchange them not with Commanders and perſons of Quality on the Chriſtians; for the favour of the *Sultan* makes the *Paſhaw*, and not the noble Bloud or Vertues; ſo that the *Paſhaw* impriſoned loſing the influence of his Sovereign's protection and greatneſs, loſes that alſo

which render'd him noble and conſiderable above other perſons.

There are notwithſtanding ſome *Paſhaws* of petty Governments, who have obtained to themſelves, through ſome ancient grace and privilege from the *Sultan*, an hereditary ſucceſſion in their Government, and as I can learn, thoſe are onely the *Paſhaws* of *Gaza*, *Cordiſtan*, and three *Sangiacks* formerly mentioned under the *Paſhaw* of *Damaſcus* and *Matick*, and *Turcman* under the *Paſhaw* of *Aleppo*. And ſince I have mentioned the *Paſhaw* of *Gaza*, it will be but requiſite to recall to mind the memory of one lately of that place with much honour and reverence, being one whoſe actions and devotion to the Chriſtian Worſhip might conclude him not far from *the Kingdom of God:* for beſides his favourable inclination in general, to all who profeſſed the Chriſtian Faith, he was much devoted to the Religious of *Jeruſalem*, to whom he often made Preſents, as Proviſions of Rice and other Supplies for their Monaſtery; and when once the *Father Guardian of the Holy Sepulchre* came to make him a Viſit, with great reſpect and reverence, he met him at a good diſtance from his houſe, giving him a reception much different from what the *Turks* uſually beſtow on any, who profeſs other than the *Mahometan* Faith: and might deſerve the Character that *Tacitus* gives of *L. Voluſius*, that he was *Egregia fama, cui Septaginta quinque anni ſpatium vivendi, præcipuaque opes bonis artibus, inoffenſa tot Imperatorum malitia fuit.* And yet this good man having for Seventy five years lived innocently in that Government, and received the Inheritance from his Father, was by promiſe of fair treatment allured to the Port, where without farther proceſs or any accuſation, his hoary Head was ſevered from his Body, for no other reaſon, than leſt the permiſſion and indulgence to this

this long continuance and ſucceſſion in Office, ſhould prove too ample a deviation from the rules of the *Turkiſh Polity.*

And that all means of attaining ancient Riches, which is the next degree to Nobility, may be cut off, the *Turk* obſerves this Maxime of *Machiavel*, *à reprimere la inſolenſa di uno, non vie piu ſicuro, emeno ſcandoloſo modo, che preoccupargli quelle vie, per le quale viene quella potenza:* and ſo the Grand Signior ſuffers no poſſibility of arriving to ancient Wealth; for as eldeſt Brother to great Men he makes ſeiſure of the Eſtates of all *Paſhaws* that die, who having Children, ſuch part is beſtowed on them for their maintenance as the Grand Signior ſhall think fit and requiſite: If a *Paſhaw* dies that is married to a *Soltana*, which is the Grand Signior's Siſter, Daughter, or other Relation, her Kabin or Dowry is firſt deducted from the Eſtate (which is commonly 100000 Dollars) and the remainder accrues to the *Sultan*, as Heir to the reſt; and by this means all ancient Nobility is ſuppreſſed, and you ſhall find the Daughters of ancient Greek Houſes eſpouſed to Shepherds and Carters, and the ancient Reliques of the noble Families of *Catacuzeno* and *Paleologi*, living more contemptuouſly at *Conſtantinople*, than ever *Dionyſius* did at *Corinth.*

But not onely in *Paſhaws* and great Men is care taken to clip their Wings, which may hinder them from ſoaring too high, but alſo in the *Ottoman* Family it ſelf greater ſeverity and ſtrictneſs is exerciſed than in others, to keep them from growing great in Offices or Wealth, whereby to have poſſibility of aſpiring to the Supreme Power; and therefore by the original and fundamental Laws of the *Turks*, the Children of a *Soltana* married to a *Paſhaw* are not capable of any Office in the Empire, and at

moſt cannot riſe higher, than to be in the quality of a *Capugibaſhee*, which is one of the Porters of the Grand Signior's Gate. They that are of this Race never dare vaunt of their Pedigree, it is a contumacioufneſs and almoſt Treaſon to name it; nor have I learned that there is any Family amongſt the *Turks* of this Line, of any account or eſteem, but one alone, who is called *Ibrahim Hun Ogleri*, or the Offspring of *Sultan Ibrahim*, their Father being a Son of the Grand Signior's Siſter, and married to a *Sultana* (and are ſaid to be of the Race of the *Tartars*) ſo that proceeding by the Womens ſide onely, the leſs notice is taken of their Bloud: their Rent or Revenue is yearly about 70000 Dollars, *Quibus magnæ opes, innocenter partæ, & modeſte habitæ*, which they manage with prudence and diſcretion, live honourably without oſtentation, ſeek no Office, or intermeddle in the Affairs of State; by which means they hitherto have preſerved themſelves from envy and ſuſpicion in the revolutions of the *Turkiſh* Government.

The Marriage of a *Paſhaw* with a *Sultana*.

The Grand Signior many times when he fears the greatneſs of any *Paſhaw*, under colour and pretence of honour, prefers him to the Marriage of his Siſter, or ſome other of his Feminine kindred; by which means, inſtead of increaſing power and glory, he becomes the miſerableſt Slave in the World to the Tyranny and Pride of an inſulting Woman: For firſt he cannot refuſe the honour, leſt he ſhould ſeem to neglect and contemn the *Sultan*'s favour; then before the Eſpouſals, he muſt reſolve to continue conſtant to her alone, and not ſuffer his Affections to wander on other Wives, Slaves or diſtractions of his Love: If he hath a Wife whom he loves, whoſe long converſation and Children ſhe hath brought him, have endeared his affections too far to be forgotten; he muſt yet baniſh her and all other

other relations from his home, to entertain the embraces of his unknown *Sultana*: Before the Eſpouſals, what Money, Jewels or rich Furs ſhe ſends for, he muſt with complement and chearfulneſs preſent, which is called *Aghirlick*; beſides this, he makes her a Dowry called *Kabin*, of as much as Friends that make the Match can agree; when the *Kabin* is concluded and paſſed before the Juſtice in form or nature of a Recogniſance; the Bridegroom is conducted to the Chamber of his Bride by a Black Eunuch, at whoſe entrance the cuſtome is, for the *Sultana* to draw her Dagger, and imperiouſly to demand the reaſon of his bold acceſs, which he with much ſubmiſſion replies to, and ſhews the *Emmeri Podeſhaw*, or the Imperial Firm for his Marriage; the *Sultana* then ariſes, and with more kindneſs admits him to nearer familiarity. The Eunuch takes up his Slippers and lays them over the Door, (which is a ſign of his good reception) then he bows with all reverence before her to the ground, and retires a few paces back, making ſome brief Oration to her full of Complement and Admiration of her Worth and Honour; and remaining afterwards a while ſilent, in an humble poſture, bowing forward with his hands before him, untill the *Sultana* commands him to bring her Water, which he readily obeys, taking a Pot of Water provided for that purpoſe, and kneeling before her, delivers it to her hand; then ſhe takes off her red Veil from before her Face, embroidered with Gold and Silver Flowers, and ſo drinks; in the mean time her Servingmaids bring in a low Table, on which are ſet a pair of Pigeons roaſted, and a Plate of Sugar-candy; the Bridegroom then invites his coy Spouſe to the Collation, which ſhe refuſes untill other preſents are brought her, which lie prepared in the outward Room; with which her modeſty being overcome, and her ſtomach

brought down, ſhe is perſuaded to the Table, and ſitting down receives a Leg of a Pigeon from the hand of her Bridegroom; taſtes a little, and then puts a piece of Sugar-candy into his Mouth; and ſo riſing up, returns to her place; All the Attendants then retire and leave the Bridegroom alone with his *Soltana* for the ſpace of an hour to court her ſingly; that time being paſt, the Muſick ſounding, he is invited forth by his Friends to an outward room, where having paſt moſt of the night with Songs and Sports, at the approach of the morning, the *Soltana* weary of her paſtime, retires to her Bed, which is richly adorned and perfumed, fit to entertain Nuptial Joys: The Bridegroom adviſed hereof by the nod of the Eunuch, creeps ſilently into the Bridechamber, where ſtripping himſelf of his upper Garments, he kneels a-while at the feet of the Bed, and then by little and little turning up the Cloaths, gently rubs her feet with his hand, and kiſſing of them, aſcends higher to the embraces of his Spouſe, which ſhe willingly admits him to, and wiſhes her ſelf and him a happy Bedding: in the morning betimes the Bridegroom is called by his Friends to the Bath; at whoſe call ariſing, he is preſented by the Bride with all ſorts of Linen to be uſed in Bathing; after theſe Ceremonies are paſt, they are better acquainted, yet in publick ſhe keeps him at a diſtance, wears her Haniarre or Dagger by her ſide in token of her Superiority; and ſo frequently commands Gifts and Riches from him, untill ſhe hath exhauſted him to the bottom of all his Wealth. Nor is this eſteemed ſufficient to mortify theſe poor Slaves by Womens Tyranny, but they are always put forward upon deſperate attempts, as lately *Iſhmael Paſhaw*, who was killed paſſing the River *Raab*, in the overthrow given the *Turks* by the Emperour's Forces under *Montecuculi*: and others I could name in like manner;

ner; leſt the honour of their Marriage in the Royal Family without the croſſes and mortifications which attend it, ſhould puff them up with the ambition and proud thought, which is not lawfull for them to imagine.

The reaſon why *Ahmet Paſhaw* late Viſier ſucceeded his Father *Kuperlee* in Government.

But it may well be objected how it came to paſs, that the preſent Prime Viſier called *Ahmet*, ſhould ſucceed his Father *Kuperlee* in the Government of the Empire. 'Tis true, it was a ſtrange deviation from the general rule of their Policy, and perhaps ſuch a Preſident as may never hereafter be brought into example; but accidents concur oftentimes to the fortune of ſome men without order or reaſon; and yet *Kuperlee* the Father had ſo well deſerved of the *Sultan*, and his whole Dominions, for having by his own wiſedom and reſolution ſaved the Empire from being rent in pieces by the Faction, and ambition of ſome aſpiring perſons, and by the bloud of thouſands of mutinous and rebellious heads, had cemented and made firm the Throne of his Maſter, that no honour could be thought ſufficient to be paid to his Ghoſt, unleſs it were the ſucceſſion of his Son in his place; which the more unuſual and irregular it was eſteemed, the greater glory it was to that Family; and herein alſo this ſubtile Fox plaid his Maſter-piece, by repreſenting the ſtate of affairs to remain in that poſture, as was neceſſary to be carried on with the ſame method as begun; which he had entruſted to the knowledge of his Son; and this was the reaſon why this young Viſier then ſcarce arrived to thirty years, and but an ordinary *Kadee* or Juſtice of the Law, was both as to his age and relation thus irregularly preferred to the Office of Viſier. Nor hath hereditary ſucceſſion nor long continuance in authority been onely avoided amongſt the *Turks*; but we find that the *Romans* often changed their Governours, and never ſuffered them to

continue long in one Province; and ſo the King of *Spain* doth at preſent in the Government of *Flanders*, the *Indies*, the Kingdom of *Naples*, and other Parts, the ſpace of three years being commonly allotted them for their reſidence. But amongſt the *Turks* there is no fixed term of time appointed to their *Paſhaws*, but onely they remain as Tenants at Will of the Grand Signior; who according to his pleaſure, and as he ſees reaſon cuts them off, recalls them, or tranſplants them to another Province; onely the *Paſhaw* of *Grand Cairo* in *Egypt*, hath a certain ſpace of three years appointed, to which his Government is confined; and there may be very good reaſon for it; for it being a place of great Truſt, Riches and Power, in which *Paſhaws* grow in a ſhort time vaſtly wealthy, it cannot be wiſedom to continue them long there; the Revenue of which we have had occaſion already to diſcourſe of. And therefore the Grand Signior doth often, not onely abbreviate their time, but alſo at their return ſhares in the beſt part of the Prizes they have made. The *Romans* had that opinion of the Wealth and Power of *Egypt*, that *Auguſtus* made a Decree, and held it *inter alia dominationis arcana*, that it ſhould not be lawfull for any without particular licence to enter *Egypt*, and expreſly forbids Senators and Gentlemen of *Rome*, without order from the Prince, or for the affairs of State, to viſit thoſe parts. And *Tacitus* gives this reaſon for it, *Ne fama urgeret Italiam quiſquis eam Provinciam, clauſtraq; terræ ac maris, quamvis levi præſidio adverſum ingentes exercitus inſedifſet.* Another danger to the Empire, which the *Turks* ſedulouſly avoid, beſides hereditary ſucceſſion in Office, is Rivalry among Princes of the Bloud, during the time of their Fathers life; for afterwards the Suceſſour takes care to ſecure his Brethren beyond poſſibility of competition. The ſtory of *Selymus*

Lib. 1.

lymus and *Bajazet*, the Sons of *Solyman* the Magnificent, is a perfect experiment of the feud and diſſention which is bred in the deſires of barbarous Princes; ſo that when they arrive to any maturity of Age, they are always tranſplanted to different *Seraglio*'s abroad, where they keep their Courts diſtinct, and cannot enter within the Walls of *Conſtantinople*, during the life of their Father, leſt by interview with each other, their minds ſhould be moved with emulation, or inhabiting in the Imperial City, ſhould be provided with means before their time to attempt the Throne of their Father. And for this reaſon the Grand Signior hath ſcarce performed the Ceremonies of his Inauguration before he hath ſeaſoned his entrance to his Throne with the bloud of his Brothers; which barbarous cuſtome began in the time of *Sultan Bajazet*. But if the Brothers are but few, and the Grand Signior of a diſpoſition more naturally inclined to Clemency than Cruelty, he ſecures them in the *Seraglio*, under the tuition of Maſters, and care of a faithfull Guard; differing nothing from impriſonment, but in the name, prohibiting them the ſociety and converſation of all: and thus the two Brothers of this preſent *Sultan Mahomet*, live in as much obſcurity and forgetfulneſs, as if they had never been born, or having paſt a private life, were departed to the place where all things were forgotten.

It is no great digreſſion from our purpoſe here to take notice of two ſorts of Governments purely popular; the one hath already had its period, and the other is of late beginning and at preſent flouriſhes; and thoſe are the Commonwealths of *Egypt* under the *Mamalukes*, and the other in our days in the Dominions of *Algier*: The firſt not onely depoſed the whole Family of their Prince from having power in the Government, and from all ſucceſſion,

ceſſion, but alſo made it an immutable Law, that the Sons of the *Mamalukes* might ſucceed their Father in the inheritance of their Eſtates as Lands and Goods, but could not aſſume the Title or Government of a *Mamaluke*; nor not onely ſo, but that all that were born in the *Mahometan* or *Jewiſh* Faith, were uncapable *ipſo facto* of the Order of a *Mamaluke*; and onely ſuch preferred thereunto, who had been Sons of Chriſtians and become ſlaves, inſtructed and educated in the *Mahometan* ſuperſtition; or elſe men of mature age, who having abjured God and their Countrey, were come thither to ſeek preferment in that Kingdom of darkneſs. And this ſlaviſh and ſtrange conſtitution of Government flouriſhed for the ſpace of 267 years, untill overthrown in the year of our Lord 1517. by the Arms of *Selimus* that victorious Emperour of the *Turks*. The preſent Government of *Algier* is but of a few years; the firſt original of which was by one *Barbaroſe* a famous Pyrate, and afterwards by the acceſſion of great quantities of *Turks* out of the *Levant*, the protection of the Grand Signior was craved, and a *Paſhaw* received from the Port; but now the *Paſhaw* remains without any power; the whole Government being transferred to the ſcum of the People; who fearing leſt the power ſhould at laſt become ſubject to the Natives, have made it a Law, that no Sons of a *Turk* born in that Countrey, whom they call *Cololies*, can be capable of an Office in their Commonwealth; but onely ſuch, who having been born Chriſtians, are perverted to the *Turkiſh* Sect, or elſe ſuch who come from parts of the *Turkiſh* Dominions, to be Members of their Republique. And thus much ſhall ſerve to have declared how much the *Turks* are jealous of all ſucceſſions in Office and Authority, which may prejudice the abſolute Monarchy of their great *Sultan*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

The frequent Exchange of Officers, viz. *the ſetting up of one, and degrading another, a Rule always practiſed as wholſome, and conducing to the welfare of the* Turkiſh *State.*

HE that is an eye-witneſs and ſtrict obſerver of the various changes in greatneſs, honours and riches of the *Turks*, hath a lively Emblem of Contemplation before him, of the unconſtancy and mutability of humane affairs; Fortune ſo ſtrangely ſports with his people, that a Comedy or Tragedy on the Stage with all its Scenes, is ſcarce ſooner opened and ended, than the fate of divers great Men, who in the day-time being exalted to high ſublimity, by the powerfull Rays of the *Sultan*'s favour, in the night fall, or vaniſh like a Meteor. The reaſon hereof, if duly conſidered, may be of great uſe as things ſtand here, that is, to the power of the Grand Signior; for in this conſtitution the health and benefit of the Emperour is conſulted before the welfare of the People: And the power of the Emperour is in no action more exerciſed and evidenced, than by withdrawing and conferring his favours; for by theſe means, having many whom he hath educated and prepared for Offices, and ſtand Candidates to receive them, his power would ſeem to be at a *Nonplus*, and appear like an inconſiderable Father, who had ſpent more Money in the breeding of his Sons, than the Patrimony amounted to he had to beſtow upon them: and

and therefore the Grand Signior to imitate the Sun, benights ſome parts of the World to enlighten others, that ſo by a general influence and communication of his Beams, he may be acknowledged the common Parent of them all.

And this courſe doth not evidence the power of the Grand Signior, but likewiſe encreaſes it; for none are advanced in theſe times to Office, but pay the Grand Signior vaſt Sums of Money for it, according to the Riches and expectations of Profit from the Charge; ſome pay, as the *Paſhaws* of *Grand Cairo* and *Babylon*, 3 or 400000 Dollars upon paſſing the Commiſſion; others one, others 200000, ſome 50000, as their places are more or leſs conſiderable: and this Money is moſt commonly taken up at Intereſt at 40 or 50 *per cent.* for the year, and ſometimes at double, when they are conſtrained to become debtors to the covetous Eunuchs of the *Seraglio*; ſo that every one upon his firſt entrance into Office looks on himſelf (as indeed he is) greatly indebted and obliged by juſtice or injuſtice, right or wrong, ſpeedily to disburthen himſelf of the debts, and improve his own principal in the World; and this deſign muſt not be long in performance, leſt the haſty Edict overtake him before his work is done, and call him to account for the improvement of his Talent. Think then (taking all circumſtances together of the covetous diſpoſition of a *Turk*, the cruelty and narrowneſs of Soul in thoſe Men commonly that are born and educated in want) what oppreſſion, what rapine and violence muſt be exerciſed to ſatisfie the appetite of theſe Men, who come famiſhed with immenſe deſires, and ſtrange conſiderations to ſatisfie! *Diu ſordidus repente dives mutationem fortunæ male regit, accenſis egeſtate longa cupidinibus immoderatus.* Tac. lib. 1. Hiſt. So that Juſtice in its common courſe is ſet to ſale, and it

it is very rare when any Law-Suit is in hand, but Bargains are made for the Sentence, and he hath moſt right who hath moſt Money to make him *rectus in Curia*, and advance his Cauſe. And it is the common courſe for both Parties at difference, before they appear together in preſence of the Judge, to apply themſelves ſingly to him, and try whoſe donative and preſent hath the moſt in it of temptation; and it is no wonder if corrupt Men exerciſe this kind of Trade in Trafficking with Juſtice; for having before bought the Office, of conſequence they muſt ſell the truth.

Vendere jure poteſt, emerat ille prius.

Add hereunto a ſtrange kind facility in the *Turks*, for a trifle or ſmall hire to give falſe Witneſs in any caſe, eſpecially, and that with a word, when the controverſie happens between a Chriſtian and a *Turk*, and then the pretence is for the *Muſſelmanleek*, as they call it, the Cauſe is Religious, hallows all falſeneſs and forgery in the Teſtimony; ſo that I believe in no part of the World can Juſtice run more out of the current and ſtream than in *Turkey*, where ſuch Maxims and conſiderations corrupt both the Judge and Witneſſes. *Turcæ magnæ pietatis loco ducunt dicere falſum teſtimonium adverſus hominem Chriſtianum; non expectant ut rogentur; injuſſi adſunt ſeque ultro ingerunt.* Busbeq; Ep. 4. de Leg. Tur.

This conſideration and practice made an *Engliſh* Ambaſſador upon renewing the Capitulations, to inſert an Article of Caution againſt the teſtimony of *Turks*, as never to be admitted nor pleaded in any Court of *Turkiſh* Juſtice, againſt the *Engliſh* intereſt; and nothing to be admitted as evidence in that caſe, but onely a *Hoget*, which is the nature of a Recognizance made before a Judge, or a Bill or Writing

Writing under the hand of him on whom the demand is made; which Article as it was very advisedly, and with great Prudence and Wisedom obtained, so it hath proved of admirable consequence and security to the Trafique and Merchants Estates, which before being liable to the Forgeries and false Pretences of every dissolute *Turk*, have now this point as a defence and fortification, by which false Pretences and Suits for considerable Sums of Money, and matters of great value have been blown away, and decided with great facility and little expence.

Turkish History in the Reign of *Bajazet* the fourth King of the *Turks*.

In the time of *Bajazet*, the fourth King of the *Turks*, the Courts of Justice were in like manner corrupted, as at present; for reformation of which the Prince resolved to execute a great number of the Lawyers, untill it was pleasantly represented by his Jester (to whom between jest and earnest he had given liberty to speak the truth, which soberer Men durst not) that all the cause of Bribery and Corruption in the Judges, proceeded for want of stipends and necessary maintenance; whereupon *Bajazet* growing cooler, and sensible of the cause of that evil, applied a Remedy, by granting their Pardon, allowing them Salaries and Stipends, with additional Fees of twenty Aspers in all causes exceeding a thousand; and twelve Aspers for every Writing and Instrument out of Court. And in the times of the best Emperours, when vertue and deserts were considered, and the Empire flourished and encreased, Men had Offices conferred for their Merits, and good Services were rewarded freely and with bounty, without Sums of Money and Payments to be a foil to the lustre of their better parts: But now it is quite contrary, and all matters run out of course; a manifest token in my opinion of the declension and decay of the *Ottoman* Empire, as *Livy* saith,

ſaith, *Omnia proſpera ſequentibus Deos, adverſa autem ſpernentibus.* Howſoever in part this ſerves the great end of the Empire; for *Paſhaws* and great Men having a kind of neceſſity upon them to oppreſs their Subjects, the People thereby loſe their Courages; and by continual Taxes and Seiſures on what they gain, Poverty ſubdues their Spirits, and makes them more patiently ſuffer all kinds of injuſtice and violence that can be offered them, without thoughts or motion to Rebellion; and ſo the Lord *Verulam* ſays in his *Eſſays*, that it is impoſſible for a People overladen with Taxes, ever to become Martial or Valiant; for no Nation can be the Lion's Whelp, and the Aſs between Burthens: by which means the *Turk* preſerves ſo many different ſort of people as he hath conquered in due obedience, uſing no other help than a ſevere hand joined to all kind of oppreſſion; but ſuch as are *Turks*, and bear any name of office or degree in the ſervice of the Empire, feel but part of this oppreſſion, and live with all freedom, having their ſpirits raiſed by a licence they attain to inſult over others that dare not reſiſt them. Eſſay 29.

But the iſſue and concluſion of the Spoils theſe great Men make on Subjects is very remarkable; for as if God were pleaſed to evidence his juſt puniſhment more evidently and plainly here, than in other ſins; ſcarce any of all thoſe *Paſhaws* who have made haſte to be rich, have eſcaped the Grand Signior's hands, but he either deveſts them of all, or will ſhare the beſt part of the Prey with them. Amongſt which I have obſerved none paſſes ſo hardly as the *Paſhaws* of *Grand Cairo*, becauſe it is the richeſt and moſt powerfull of all the Governments of this Empire; and ſo either in his Journey home, or after his return, he loſes his life by publick command, or at leaſt is rifled of his Goods as ill got, which are con-

condemned to the Grand Signior's Treaſury: And it is ſtrange to ſee yet with what heat theſe Men labour to amaſs Riches, which they know by often experiences have proved but collections for their Maſter; and onely the Odium and Curſes which the oppreſſed Wretches have vented againſt their Rapine, remain to themſelves; *rebus ſecundis avidi, adverſis autem incauti*, Tac. And this is like the Policy that *Cæſar Borgia* uſed, otherwiſe called *il Duca Valentine*, who the better to reduce *Romagna*, lately ſubdued to obedience, made one *Meſſer Romiro d' Orco* his Deputy, a Man of a cruel and tyrannical diſpoſition, who by rigour and force reduced affairs to the will and order of his Prince: and the Work now done, and the people remaining extraordinarily diſcontented, the Duke thought it time to purge the minds of his people of the ill apprehenſion they had of his Government, by demonſtrating that the former hard uſage proceeded from the bad inclination of his Miniſter; commanded the ſame *Romiro d'Orco* at *Ceſanna*, to be cut in pieces, and expoſed to the publick view of the People, with a piece of Wood, and a bloudy Knife by his ſide. This ſaith *Machiavil.* lib. del Principe, cap. 7. *fece aquelli popoli in un tempo remanere ſtupidi & ſodisfatti*; and the *Turk* underſtands well how profitable in the ſame manner it is for the conſtitution of his Eſtate, to uſe evil inſtruments, who may oppreſs and poll his People, intending afterwards for himſelf the whole harveſt of their labours; they remaining with the hatred, whilſt the Prince under colour of performing Juſtice, procures both Riches and Fame together.

If it be ſuſpected that any great Man intends to make Combuſtion or Mutiny in his Government, or that his Wealth or natural Abilities render him formidable; without farther inquiſition or ſcrutiny, all diſcontent

diſcontent of the Grand Signior is diſſembled, and perhaps a Horſe, a Sword, or Sables veſt is reported to be preſented, and all fair treatment is counterfeited, untill the Executioner gets the Bow-ſtring about his Neck, and then they care not how rudely they deal with him: juſt like the Birds in *Plutarch*, who beat the Cuckow for fear that in time he ſhould become a Hawk. *Lib. 6. Apoth.*

And to make more room for the multitude of Officers who crowd for preferments, and to act the cruel Edicts of the Empire with the leaſt noiſe; times when a great Perſonage is removed from his place of Truſt, and ſent with a new Commiſſion to the charge perhaps of a greater Government; and though he depart from the Regal Seat with all fair demonſtrations of favour, before he hath advanced three days in his journey, triumphing in the multitude of his Servants, and his late hopes, the fatal command overtakes him; and without any accuſation or cauſe other than the Will of the *Sultan*, he is barbarouſly put to death, and his body thrown into the dirt of a foreign and unknown Countrey, without ſolemnity of Funeral or Monument; that he is no ſooner in the Grave, than his Memory is forgotten. And this methinks is ſomewhat agreeable to the crafty Policy of *Tiberius*, who ſometimes would commiſſionate men for government of Provinces, to whom before-hand he had deſigned not to permit licence to depart the City; *Poſtremò eò provectus eſt, ut mandaverit quibuſdam provincias quos egredi urbe non erat paſſurus.*

Hence are apparent the cauſes of the decay of Arts amongſt the *Turks*, of the neglect, want of care in manuring and cultivating their Lands; why their Houſes and private Buildings are made ſlight, not durable for more than ten or twenty years; why you find no delightfull Orchards and pleaſant Gar-

dens and Plantations; and why in thoſe Countries where Nature hath contributed ſo much on her part, there are no additional labours of Art to complete all, and turn it to a Paradiſe; for Men knowing no certain Heir, nor who ſhall ſucceed them in their labours, contrive onely for a few years enjoyment. And moreover, men are fearfull of ſhewing too much oſtentation or magnificence in their Palaces, or ingenuity in the pleaſures of their Gardens, leſt they ſhould bring on them the ſame fate, that *Naboth*'s Vineyard occaſion'd to his Maſter: and therefore men neglect all application to the Studies of Arts and Sciences, but onely ſuch as are neceſſary and conducing to the mere courſe of living; for the very fear and crime of being known to be rich, makes them appear outwardly poor, and become naturally Stoicks and Philoſophers in all the points of a reſerved and cautious life. And here I am at a ſtand, and cannot conclude this Chapter without contemplating a-while, and pleaſing my ſelf with the thoughts of the bleſſedneſs, the happineſs, the liberty of my own Countrey; where Men under the protection and ſafe influence of a gratious and the beſt of Princes in the World, enjoy and eat of the fruit of their own labour, and purchaſe to themſelves with ſecurity Fields and Manors, and dare acknowledge and glory in their Wealth and Pomp, and yet leave the Inheritance to their Poſterity.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

The ſeveral Arts the Turks *uſe to encreaſe their People, is a principal Policy, without which the greatneſs of their Empire cannot continue nor be encreaſed.*

THere was never any People that laid Foundations and Deſigns of a great Empire, but firſt thought how to make it populous, and by which means they might beſt ſupply them with People, not onely ſufficient for the ſacrifice and ſlaughter of the War, but for the Plantation of Colonies, Poſſeſſion and Security of what the Sword hath conquered. We never underſtood how one People alone that was Martial, and by ſucceſſes in War had framed a large Empire, was able from the mere original of its own Stock, to abound with iſſue of natural Subjects, to bear proportion with the ſtronger Nations; nor how a handfull of people with the greateſt Policy and Courage in the World was able to embrace a large extent of Dominion and Empire: It is true, that *Alexander* did with an Army, for the moſt part, compoſed of *Macedonians*, as it were in a rant make a Conqueſt of the beſt part of the Eaſtern World; but this Empire, like a Ship that had much Sail and no Ballaſt, or a fair Tree overcharged with Boughs too heavy for its Stem, became a windfall on a ſudden.

The *Turks* therefore, during the continuance of their Empire, have not been ignorant of this Truth; for no people in the World have ever been more

open to receive all ſorts of Nations to them, than they, nor have uſed more arts to encreaſe the number of thoſe that are called *Turks*; and it is ſtrange to conſider, that from all parts of the World, ſome of the moſt diſſolute and deſperate in wickedneſs, ſhould flock to theſe Dominions, to become Members and Profeſſours of the *Mahometan* Superſtition; in that manner that at preſent, the Bloud of the *Turks* is ſo mixed with that of all ſorts of Languages and Nations, that none of them can derive his Lineage from the ancient Bloud of the *Saracens*.

The *Romans* who well knew the benefit of receiving Strangers into their Boſome, called this freedom they gave *Jus civitatis*, whereby Foreigners became as lawfull Poſſeſſours of Eſtates and Inheritances, and had as much right to the common Privileges, as any that were born in the Walls of *Rome*; and this *Jus civitatis* was given to whole Families; Eſſays. ſo that as Sir *F. B.* ſays well, that the *Romans* did not over-ſpread the World, but the World it ſelf. The *Engliſh* call it Naturalization, the *French* Enfranchiſement, and the *Turks* call it Becoming a Believer; for they joining with it a point of Religion, not onely the Profers of the Goods of this World, but alſo of Delights in the World to come, make the allurements and arguments the more prevalent; and it being an opinion amongſt them, as over all the World, that it is a Meritorious Work to create Proſelytes, ſcarce any who hath Money to purchaſe a Slave, but will procure one young and fit for any impreſſion, whom he may name his Convert, and gain Reputation amongſt his Neighbours of having added to the number of the Faithfull: Of all this number, which yearly are added to the Profeſſours of *Mahomet*, none can retreat on lower terms than Death and Martyrdom for Chriſt; which cauſes many

many whoſe Conſciences, though touched with the ſenſe of the denial of their Saviour, yet having not grace or courage to aſſert their Faith on ſo hard a Leſſon, grow deſperate or careleſs, and die in their Sin. This ſort of People become really *Turks*, and ſome through Cuſtome and their own Luſts, are really perſuaded of the truth of this Profeſſion, and have proved more inveterate and fatal enemies to Chriſtianity, than the natural *Turks*; which will appear, if we conſider that all the ſucceſſes they have had, and exploits they have done at Sea, have been performed by ſuch who have denied the Chriſtian Faith, as namely *Chigal*, *Ogli*, and others.

It was the cuſtome formerly amongſt the *Turks*, every five years to take away the Chriſtians Children, and Educate them in the *Mahometan* Superſtition; by which means they encreaſed their own People, and diminiſhed and enfeebled the force of the Chriſtians; but now that cuſtome in a great part is grown out of uſe, through the abundance of *Greeks*, *Armenians*, *Jews*, and all Nations where the Iron Rod of the *Turks* Tyranny extends, who flock in to enjoy the imaginary honour and privilege of a *Turk*. And indeed it is no wonder to humane reaſon, that conſiders the oppreſſion and contempt that poor Chriſtians are expoſed to, and the ignorance in their Churches, occaſioned through Poverty in the Clergy, that many ſhould be found who retreat from the Faith; but it is rather a Miracle, and a true verification of thoſe words of Chriſt, *That the Gates of Hell ſhall not be able to prevail againſt his Church*, that there is conſerved ſtill amidſt ſo much oppoſition, and in deſpight of all Tyranny and Arts contrived againſt it, an open and publick Profeſſion of the Chriſtian Faith; which next to God's Providence, conſidering the ſtupid ignorance of the *Greek* and *Armenian* Churches, their conſervation of

their Faith is not to be attributed to any inſtance more, than to the ſtrict obſervation of the Feaſts and Faſts of their Churches; for having rarely the helps of Catechiſms or Sermons, they learn yet from theſe outward Ceremonies ſome confuſed Notions and Precepts of Religion, and exerciſe with ſeverity and rigour this ſort of Devotion, when through cuſtome, confuſion, and ſcarcity of knowing Guides, all other ſervice is become obſolete and forgotten amongſt them.

The *Turks* have another extraordinary ſupply of people from the Black Sea, ſent them in by the *Tartars*, who with their light Bodies of Horſe make incurſions into the Territories of the neighbouring Chriſtians, and carry with them a Booty of whole Cities and Countries of People, moſt of which they ſend to *Conſtantinople* to be ſo ſold, and is the chief Trade and Commodity of their Countrey (as we have already diſcourſed.) It is ſad to ſee what numbers of *Saykes*, or *Turkiſh* Veſſels, come ſailing through the *Boſphorus*, fraighted with poor Chriſtian Captives of both Sexes, and all Ages, carrying on the Main-top a Flag, either as a Note of Triumph, or elſe as a Mark of the Ware and Merchandiſe they carry. The number of the Slaves brought yearly to *Conſtantinople* is uncertain; for ſometimes it is more, and ſometimes leſs, according to the Wars and Succeſſes of the *Tartars*; but as it is apparent in the Regiſters of the Cuſtoms at *Conſtantinople* onely, one year with another at the leaſt 20000 are yearly imported; amongſt which the greateſt part being Women and Children, with eaſie perſuaſions, and fair promiſes become *Turks*; the Men being ignorant, and generally of the *Ruſſian* or *Moſcovite* Nation (who are reported not to be over-devout, or of famed conſtancy and perſeverance in Religion) partly by menaces and fear, partly by good words and

and allurements of reward, deſpairing of liberty, and return to their own Countrey, renounce all intereſt in the Chriſtian Faith. Of this ſort of Mettal moſt of the *Turks* are in theſe days compoſed, and by the fecundity of this Generation, the Dominions of this Empire flow; for the *Turks* of themſelves, though they have the liberty of *Polygamy*, and freer uſe of divers Women allowed them by their Law, than the ſeverity of Chriſtian Religion doth permit, are yet obſerved to be leſs fruitfull in Children, than thoſe who confine themſelves to the chaſt embraces of one Wife. It is true, we have heard how in former times there have been particular men amongſt the *Turks*, that have ſeverally been Fathers to an hundred Sons; but now through that abominable Vice of *Sodomy*, which the *Turks* pretend to have learned from the *Italians*, and is now the common and profeſſed ſhame of that people, few fecundious Families are found amongſt them; eſpecially amongſt the perſons of the greater Quality, who have means and time to act and contrive their filthineſs with the moſt deformity. And in this manner the natural uſe of the Women being neglected amongſt them, as St. *Paul* ſaith, *Men burning in luſt one towards another*; ſo little is Mankind propagated that many think, were it not for the abundant ſupplies of Slaves, which daily come from the Black Sea (as before we have declared) conſidering the Summer-ſlaughters of the Plague, and deſtructions of War, the *Turk* would have little cauſe to boaſt of the vaſt numbers of his People: and that a principal means to begin the ruine of this Empire, were to prevent the taking of ſo many Captives, or intercept thoſe numbers of Slaves which are daily tranſported to nouriſh and feed the body of this great *Babylon*; by which means in time they would not onely find a want of Servants, but a decay and *Rom.* c. 1.

ſcarcity of Maſters; ſince as it is before-mentioned, theſe Slaves becoming *Turks*, are capable of all privileges, and being commonly Manumiſed by their Patrons, through the help of Fortune, arrive equally to Preferments with thoſe who are of the ancient *Mahometan* Race: This is the true reaſon the *Turk* can ſpend ſo many People in his Wars, and values not the lives of Ten thouſand Men to win him but a ſpan of ground, and yet almoſt without any ſenſible diminution of his People; and on the contrary, the invention of an Inquiſition, and the diſtinction between *Chriſtianos vieios*, and *Nuevos* in *Spain* and *Portugal*, have cauſed that decay and ſcarcity of people in thoſe Countries, as hath laid the beſt part of thoſe fruitfull Soils deſolate, and forced them both to a neceſſity of entertaining a mercenary Soldiery.

It is no ſmall inducement to the vulgar people, who is moſt commonly won with outward allurements, to become *Turks*; that when they are ſo, by a white Turbant, or ſuch a particular Note of honour, they ſhall be diſtinguiſhed from other like Sects (all people amongſt the *Turks* being known by their heads, of what Religion or Quality they are) and ſo may the better be directed where they may have a privilege to domineer and injure with the moſt impunity. If we conſider how delightfull the Mode is in *England* and *France*, eſpecially to thoſe who are of a vain and gay humour, and that nothing ſeems handſome or comely, but what is dreſſed in the faſhion and air of the times; we ſhall not wonder, if the ignorant and vain amongſt Chriſtians, born and educated in thoſe Countries, ſhould be catched and entrapt with the fancy and enticement of the *Turkiſh* Mode, and be contented to deſpoil themſelves of the Garment of Chriſtian Vertues, to aſſume a dreſs more Courtly and pleaſing to the

Eyes

Eyes of the World; for ſo the *Britains*, and other Nations, after Conquered by the *Romans*, began to delight themſelves in their Language and Habit, their Banquets and Buildings, which they accounted to be Humanity and refinement of their Manners; but *Tacitus* ſaith, *Pars ſervitutis erat*, a ſignal ſymptom of their ſubjection. *De Vita Agric.*

And it is worth a wiſe Man's obſervation, how gladly the *Greeks* and *Armenian* Chriſtians imitate the *Turkiſh* Habit, and come as near to it as they dare; and how proud they are, when they are privileged upon ſome extraordinary occaſion to appear without their Chriſtian diſtinction. And thus the *Turk* makes his very Habit a bait to draw ſome to his Superſtition; Riches to allure the Covetous; Rewards and Hopes, to rule the Ambitious; fears and terrours of death, the cowardly and timorous; and by all means works on the diſpoſitions and humours of Men, to make additions to his Kingdom; Such as adhere to the Chriſtian Faith, the *Turk* makes no account of, and values no otherwiſe in the place of Subjects, than a Man doth of his Ox or Aſs, merely to carry the Burthens, and to be uſefull and ſervile in ſlaviſh Offices: they are oppreſſed, and are ſubject to all advantages and pretences; and their Goods and Eſtates gained with labour, and the ſweat of their Brows, liable to the Rapine of every great Man; they are diſarmed, and never exerciſed in War, by which means they become Effeminate, and leſs dangerous in Rebellion: onely the People of *Tranſylvania*, *Moldavia* and *Valachia*, under the conduct of their reſpective Princes that the Grand Signior ſets over them, ſerve him in their perſons in the War, and are the firſt thruſt forward in all deſperate Enterpriſes; ſo that the oppreſſion of the poor Chriſtians under the *Turk*, is worthy our compaſſion, how poor they are become,

come, how their former Wealth is exhauſted, how the fatneſs of their rich Soil is drained, and made barren by poiſonous Suckers; ſo that it is evident that the *Turks* deſign is no other, than by impoveriſhment and enfeebling the intereſt of Chriſtianity, to draw Proſelytes and ſtrength to his own Kingdom.

Wherefore ſome ſort of poor Chriſtians, either actually Subjects to the *Turkiſh* Tyranny, or Borderers on them, who often feel the miſery of their incurſions, being fearfull of their own conſtancy in the Faith, have contrived ways to preſerve themſelves from any other Profeſſion: wherefore in *Mengrelia*, the Chriſtians at the Baptiſm of their Children make a Croſs on their hands; and in *Servia* their cuſtome is to make it on their Foreheads, with the Juice of a certain Herb, the ſtain of which never wears out; ſo that ſome of theſe Nations, who become Renegadoes to the Chriſtian Faith, bear always a Badge and Note of deſignation about them to a holy Profeſſion, which may ſerve to upbraid their Perfidious deſertion of the Faith; the Croſs on their Forehead appearing for a ſhame and diſcountenance to the white Turbant on their Heads. By which pious Art, many of theſe diſtreſſed Chriſtians have notwithſtanding fear and deſpair of liberty, and promiſes of reward, through the apprehenſion of this incongruity between the Croſs and the Banner of *Mahomet*, preſerved themſelves firm to their firſt Colours.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

The manner of Reception of Foreign Ambaſſadours amongſt the Turks, *and the eſteem they have of them.*

THere was no Nation in the World ever ſo barbarous, that did not acknowledge the Office of an Ambaſſadour ſacred and neceſſary,

Sanctum populis per ſæcula nomen;

And *Cicero* ſaith, *Sic enim ſentio jus legatorum cum hominum præſidio munitum, tum etiam divino jure eſſe vallatum*; the *Alchoran* it ſelf calls this Office inviolable; and it is a *Turkiſh* Canon, *Elchi zaval yoketer*, Do not hurt an Ambaſſadour, ſo that the *Turks* do confeſs themſelves obliged by their own Law to Rules of Civilities, Courteous treatment and Protection of Ambaſſadours. The greateſt honour they ſhew to any Foreign Miniſter, is to him who comes from the Emperour, becauſe his Confines are contiguous with theirs, and have had occaſion more frequently, than with other Chriſtian Princes, to try the Power of the Imperial Sword. An Ambaſſadour coming from the Emperour, as ſoon as he enters the *Ottoman* Dominions, hath his Charges defrayed by the *Sultan*, according to the importance of the Buſineſs and negotiation he is deſigned to, untill the time of his return; and a Reſident continuing in ordinary, hath in like manner his conſtant allowance. As it hath always been a Cuſtome amongſt the Eaſtern Princes to ſend Preſents each to other, as

De Haruſp. reſponſis.

as tokens of Friendſhip and Amity; ſo the Emperour is by an ancient Cuſtome and Agreement obliged to accompany his Ambaſſadour to this Court with Preſents and Gifts, as Offerings of Peace: and on the contrary, that the Emperour may not remain with the diſadvantage, the Grand Signior is bound to recompence the Embaſſie with another from himſelf, and adorn it with Preſents of equal value with thoſe that were ſent him. But Ambaſſadours and Repreſentatives from other Princes, who have their Dominions more remote, and whoſe principal deſign is eſteemed for the promotion of Trade and Commerce, as the *Engliſh*, *French* and *Dutch*, are always admitted with their Preſents, which the *Turk* by cuſtome calls his right, and judges not himſelf obliged to return the like, eſteeming his Capitulations and Articles he makes with thoſe Princes, Privileges and Immunities granted their Subjects.

The Ceremonies they uſe at the Audience of every Ambaſſadour are acted (as in all parts of the World) moſt to ſet off the glory of the Empire; and repreſented with ſuch advantages, as may beſt afford a Theme for an Ambaſſadour's Pen to deſcribe the Riches, Magnificence and Terrour of the *Ottoman* Power. The Audience with the Grand Signior (having firſt paſſed a Complement with the Prime Viſier) is commonly contrived on days appointed for payment of the *Janizaries*, which is every three Months; and with that occaſion, the Order and Diſcipline of the Militia, the Money and Stipends that are iſſued forth, are there expoſed to the obſervation of the publick Miniſter. The Money is brought into the *Divan*, and there piled in heaps where the Ambaſſadour is firſt introduced, and ſeated on a Stool covered with Crimſon-velvet, placed near the firſt Viſier, and other Viſiers

ſiers of the Bench: as ſoon as the Money is paid out to the chief of every *Oda* or Chamber, who afterwards diſtribute it amongſt their Souldiers, a plentifull dinner is prepared for the Ambaſſadour, who together with the firſt Viſier, and other Viſiers of the Bench, and *Teſterdar* or Lord Treaſurer, are ſeated at the ſame Table, which is not raiſed as high as the Tables we uſe, but ſomething lower, covered over with a capacious Voyder of Silver, in which the Diſhes are ſet, without ceremony of Table-cloth or Knives. In the ſame room are two other Tables for the principal Attendants of the Ambaſſadour, and other Perſonages amongſt the *Turks* of chief Note and Quality: the Diſhes are ſerved in by one at a time, which as ſoon as touched or taſted, are taken off to make room for another; and thus there is a ſucceſſion of threeſcore or foreſcore Services, all the Diſhes being of *China*, worth about 150 Dollars apiece; which are reported to have a virtue contrary to Poiſon, and to break with the leaſt infuſion thereof, and for that reaſon eſteemed more uſefull for the ſervice of the Grand Signior;

Nam nulla aconita bibuntur
Fictilibus, &c. Juvenal.

The Banquet being ended, the *Chaousbaſhee*, or chief of the Purſivants conducts the Ambaſſadour, with ſome of his Retinue, to a place apart, where ſeveral gay Veſts, or long Garments, made of Silk with divers Figures, are preſented them (as a ſign of the Grand Signior's favour) which the Ambaſſadour firſt putting on, and then the others, to the number of 18 or 19, attended with two *Capugibaſhees*, or chief of the Porters, perſons of good eſteem in that Court, with ſilver Staves in their hands, he is conducted nearer towards the Grand Signior's

The Audience of Ambaſſadours.

Signior's preſence; then follow the Preſents brought by the Ambaſſadour, which are carried to the beſt advantage for appearance, and are delivered to Officers appointed to receive them. The Courts without are filled with *Janizaries*, amongſt whom is obſerved ſo profound a ſilence, that there is not the leaſt noiſe or whiſper underſtood; and the Salutation they give their principal Officers as they paſs, bowing altogether at the ſame time, is warlike, and yet courtly, and ſavours of good Diſcipline and Obedience.

The Ambaſſadour is then brought to a great Gate near the Audience, the Porch of which is filled with white Eunuchs, clothed in Silks and Cloth of Gold; farther than this, none is ſuffered to proceed, beſides the Secretary, Interpreter, and ſome other perſons of beſt quality: at the door of the Chamber of Audience is a deep ſilence, and the murmuring of a Fountain near by adds to the melancholy; and no other Guard is there but a white Eunuch: and here a pauſe is made, and they tread ſoftly in token of fear and reverence, ſo as not to diſturb with the leaſt noiſe the Majeſty of the *Sultan*: for acceſs to the Eaſtern Princes was always difficult, and not permitted with the ſame familiarity as hath been practiſed amongſt the *Romans*, and at preſent with us, where the ſight of the King is his own glory, and the ſatisfaction of his Subjects: For it is with the *Turks*, as it was with the *Parthians*, when they received *Vonones* their King, educated in the *Roman* Court, who conforming to thoſe manners, ſaith *Tacitus*, *irridebantur Græci Comites, prompti aditus, obvia comitas, ignotæ Parthis virtutes*; the affability and eaſineſs of addreſs to their Prince, was a ſcandal to the Nation. At the entrance of the Chamber of Audience hangs a Ball of Gold, ſtudded with pretious Stones, and about it great Chains of rich Pearl; the

Lib. 2. ann.

the Floor is covered with Carpets of Crimſon-velvet, embroidered with Gold Wire, in many places beſet with Seed-pearl. The Throne where the Grand Signior ſits, is raiſed a ſmall height from the ground, ſupported with four Pillars plated with Gold; the Roof is richly gilded, from which hang Balls, that ſeem to be of Gold; the Cuſhions he leaned upon, as alſo thoſe which lay by, were richly embroidred with Gold and Jewels: In this Chamber with this occaſion remains no other Attendance beſides the firſt Viſier, who ſtands at the right Hand of the Grand Signior with modeſty and reverence. When the Ambaſſadour comes to appear before the Grand Signior, he is led in, and ſupported under the Arms by the two *Capugibaſhees* beforementioned; who bringing him to a convenient diſtance, laying their Hands upon his Neck, make him Bow untill his Forehead almoſt touches the ground, and then raiſing him again, retire backwards to the farther parts of the Room; the like Ceremony is uſed with all the others, who attend the Ambaſſadour; onely that they make them bow ſomewhat lower than him; the reaſon of this cuſtome, as *Busbequius* ſaith, was, becauſe that a *Croat* being admitted near to *Amurath*, to communicate ſomething to him, made uſe of that opportunity to kill him, in revenge of the death of his Maſter *Marous*; but the *Turkiſh* Hiſtory ſaith, that this was done by one *Miles Corbelitz*, who after the defeat given *Lazarus* the Deſpoſt of *Servia*, riſing from amongſt the Dead, had near acceſs to the preſence of *Amurath*. The Ambaſſadour at this Audience hath no Chair ſet him, but ſtanding, informs the Grand Signior by his Interpreter, the ſeveral demands of his Maſter, and the buſineſs he comes upon, which is all penned firſt in writing; which when read, is with the Letter of Credence conſigned into the hands of the

the great Viſier, from whom the anſwer and farther treaty is to be received.

This was the manner of the Audience given to the Earl of *Winchelſea*, when Ambaſſadour there for his Majeſty, and is (as is there ſaid) the form uſed to others, who come from a Prince equally honoured and reſpected. But though the *Turks* make theſe outward demonſtrations of all due reverence and religious care to preſerve the perſons of Ambaſſadours ſacred and free from violence; yet it is apparent by their treatment and uſage towards them, in all emergencies and differences between the Prince they come from, and themſelves, that they have no eſteem of the Law of Nations, or place any Religion in the maintenance of their Faith. For when a War is proclaimed, the Ambaſſadour immediately is either committed to cloſe impriſonment, or at leaſt to the cuſtody of a carefull Guard, confined within the limits of his own Houſe · In this manner, the Repreſentative of *Venice*, called there the *Baile*, by name *Sorenzo*, in a ſtrait Chamber of a Caſtle ſituated on the *Boſphorus*, endured a ſevere impriſonment, having his Interpreter ſtrangled, for no other cauſe than performing his Office in the true Interpretation of his Maſter's ſenſe: afterwards this *Baile* (for ſo they call there the Ambaſſadours from *Venice*) was removed to another Priſon at *Adrianople*, where he continued ſome years; and in fine, by force of Preſents mollifying the *Turks* with Money (with which their nature is eaſily made gentle and pliable) he obtained liberty to remain in the Houſe appropriated to the Repreſentatives of *Venice*, but under a Guard, whoſe Office was to ſecure him from eſcape, and obſerve his actions; and yet with Liberality and Preſents which overcome the *Turks* more than any conſideration in the World, he enjoyed as he pleaſed,

ſed, licenſe for his health to take the freſh Air, and uſe what freedom was reaſonable.

Nor leſs injurious to the Law of Nations, have been the examples of violence and rage, acted on the perſons of the *French* Ambaſſadors; firſt on the *Sieur Senſi*, accuſed upon ſuſpicion of having contrived the eſcape of *Koniſpolski*, General of the *Poliſh* Army, taken Captive in a Fight, and ſent Priſoner to the aboveſaid Caſtle on the *Boſphorus*; the means was by a ſilken Cord ſent in a Pye, with Limes and Files to cut the Iron Bars; and having firſt ſecured his Guard with the ſtrength of Wine, in the dead of the night, let him down by the Cord from the higheſt Tower, where finding Horſes ready, he got ſafe into *Poland*: the contrivance of this ſtrategeme, and the inſtruments of the eſcape, was laid to the charge of the *French* Ambaſſador; who was committed for that reaſon to the Priſon of the ſeven Towers, where he remained for the ſpace of four Months, untill his Money, and the *French* King his Maſter mediated for him, promiſing to ſend another ſpeedily to ſucceed him; he was delivered from his impriſonment, and returned home by the way of *Poland*.

The Succeſſor of this Ambaſſador was the Count *Ceſi*, a man too generous and ſplendid to live amongſt covetous and craving *Turks*, exhauſted moſt of his Wealth in Gifts and Preſents; to which adding a vanity and ambition to court the Grand Signiors Miſtreſſes in the *Seraglio* (as is ſaid) he paid ſuch vaſt Sums of Money to the Eunuchs for his admittance, that in few years he became ſo indebted, and importuned with the Clamours of his Creditors, as wholly diſcredited and loſt the Honour and Authority of his Embaſſie; ſo that the *French* King thinking it diſhonourable to continue his Miniſter, in that Charge, who was failed and undone

in the reputation of the World, ſent his Letter of Revocation to recall him home; but the *Turks* gave a ſtop to his return, pretending that their Law which was indulgent to the perſons of Ambaſſadors, did not acquit them from payment of their Debts, or privilege them with impunity to rob the Believers and other Subjects of the Grand Signior, contrary to that rule of *Grotius*, who not onely exempts the Perſons, but the Servants and Moveables of Ambaſſadors from Attachments; and no Law can compell him to the ſatisfaction of Debts by force, but by friendly perſuaſion onely, till being returned to his own Country, and put off the quality of a publick perſon, he becomes liable to common Proceſs; *Si quid ergo debiti contraxit, & ut ſit, res ſoli eo loco nullas poſſideat, ipſe compellandus erit amice, & ſi detrectet, is qui miſit, ita ut ad poſtremum uſurpentur ea, quæ adverſus debitores extra territorium poſitos uſurpari ſolent.*

Grot. lib. de Jure belli & pac.

Nor leſs remarkable was the barbarous uſage of the Sieur *la Haye*, Ambaſſador alſo for the *French* King to the Port, under the Government of the great Viſier *Kuperli*. The Court being then at *Adrianople*, and the Treaty in hand between the Grand Signior and the Republick of *Venice*, through the mediation of the *French* Ambaſſador, by conſent and command of his Maſter, certain Letters of his wrote in Characters were intercepted by the *Turks*; by what means, and upon what information, the matter was too evident then, to be apprehended other than an *Italian* contrivance: The Cipher, as containing matter prejudicial to the State, was carried to *Adrianople*; and being known by examination and confeſſion of the Meſſenger, to have been delivered to him by the Secretary of the *French* Affairs; immediately in all haſte the Ambaſſador then at *Conſtantinople* was cited to appear at Court; but being ancient, and indiſpoſed

diſpoſed in his health with the Gout and the Stone, diſpatched his Son as his Procurator, with inſtructions and orders how to anſwer what might be objected; hoping by that means to excuſe the inconvenience of a Winters journey.

The Son being arrived there, immediately was called to Audience, accompanied with the Chancellor, or Secretary for the Merchants (for the other Secretary of the private Affairs of the Embaſſie, apprehending the fury and injuſtice of the *Turks*, had timely ſecured himſelf by flight.) Diſcourſe was firſt had concerning the Contents of the Characters; the *Turks* inſolent in their Speeches, provoked this *Sieur la Haye* the younger, to utter ſomething tending towards a contempt of that power the *Turks* had over him, encouraging himſelf with the thoughts of the protection of the King his Maſter; who was ſoon ſenſible, and moved with the leaſt injuries offered his Miniſters. The *Turks* who can endure nothing leſs than Menaces, and *Kuperli* through natural cruelty and choler of old age, and particular malice againſt the *French* Nation, moved with this reply, commanded the *Caousbaſhee*, who is chief of the Purſevants, to ſtrike him on the mouth; which he did with that force, being a rude robuſtious fellow, that with a few blows of his Fiſt, he ſtruck out two of his Teeth before, and in a moſt undecent and barbarous manner dragged him with the Secretary for the Merchants, to a Dungeon ſo loathſome and moiſt, that the ill vapours oft-times extinguiſhed the Candle. The old Ambaſſador the Father, was with the like *Turkiſh* fury ſent for, the *Turks* executing all they do with ſtrange haſte and violence, *Barbaris contatio ſervilis, ſtatim exequi regium videtur*; and being arrived at *Adrianople*, was alſo committed to cuſtody, though not with that rigor and ſeverity Tac. lib. 6.

of Impriſonment as the Son, untill the ſpace of two Months paſſing with preſents and ſolicitations, they both obtained their liberty, and returned again to *Conſtantinople*; where ſcarce were they arrived, before news coming of a *French* Ship, which had loaden Goods of *Turks*, and run away with the Cargaſon, the Ambaſſador was again committed to another Priſon in *Conſtantinople*, called the Seven-Towers, where he remained, untill with Gifts and Money, the anger of the *Turks* was abated. And ſtill the malice of *Kuperlee* perſecuted this *Sieur la Haye*, untill after his Embaſſie of 25 years continuance, unfortunate onely at the concluſion, he was diſpatched home obſcurely and in diſgrace, without Letters of Revocation from his Maſter, or other intimation to the Grand Signior, which might ſignifie the deſire of this Ambaſſador's return.

The reaſon of this irreverent carriage in the *Turks* towards the perſons of Ambaſſadors, contrary to the cuſtome of the ancient *Romans*, and other gallant and civilized people, is an apprehenſion and Maxim they have received, that an Ambaſſador is endued with two qualifications, One of repreſenting to the Grand Signior the Deſires of his Prince, the Breach of Articles or League, the Aggrievances and Abuſes of Merchants trading in his Dominions, that ſo ſatisfaction and amendment may be made: And the other, that he remains in nature of a Hoſtage, called by themſelves *Mahapous* or Pledge; by which he becomes reſponſible for what is acted by his Prince contrary to the Capitulations of Peace, and remains for a Pawn for the faithfull and ſincere carriage of his Nation, and as Security to inſure what Goods belonging to *Turks* are loaden on their Veſſels. As the Reſident from *Holland* was in the year 1663, impriſoned at *Adrianople* for miſcarriage of a Ship belonging to his Nation, taken

by

by *Malteſe* Men of War, whereon at *Alexandria* were Goods loaden belonging to the Grand Signior, and other conſiderable Perſons of State, and was not releaſed, untill he engaged to Eighty five thouſand Dollars, in the ſpace of One hundred and twenty days, which was the full import of the *Turkiſh* Intereſt.

Nor hath this Law of Nations, to the ſacred eſteem of Ambaſſadors, found better obſervation towards the Repreſentatives of the *German* Emperour, who have upon all conjunctures of Diſcord and breaches of Peace between thoſe two powerfull Princes, been ſubject to confinements and cuſtody of a Guard, nothing differing from formal impriſonment; or elſe, as it happened to the *German* Reſident in the laſt War, are tranſported from place to place, according to the motion of the Armies, as a barbarous Trophy in the time of their proſperous ſucceſſes, and as a means at hand to reconcile and mediate when evil Fortune compells them to compoſition.

What ill Fate ſoever hath attended the Miniſters of other Princes in this Court, the Ambaſſadors from his Majeſty of *Great Britain*, our Sacred King, have never incurred this diſhonour and violation of their Office; the Negotiations and Differences ſince the *Engliſh* Trade hath been opened in *Turkey*, have been various and conſiderable, and matters as to the ſecurity of the Ambaſſador and Merchants, have been often reduced to a doubtfull condition, as far as words and rude ſpeeches full of Menaces and Choler, might make a ſober man ſuſpicious of a greater ruine: And yet through the conſtancy, prudence and good fortune of Ambaſſadors, the *Turkiſh* raſhneſs hath not drawn upon themſelves the guilt of violating their perſons, but have either prevented

troubles in the beginning, or wiſely compounded them before they made too far a breach.

It is worth obſervation, that the *Turks* make no difference in the name between an Ambaſſador, Reſident, Agent, or any petty Meſſenger ſent or Reſiding upon a publick Affair; the name *Elchi*, ſerves them to expreſs all; though they have the name of *Kapikahya*, which ſignifies an Agent at Court; and is commonly attributed to thoſe who reſide at the Port, for the Princes of *Tranſilvania*, *Moldavia* and *Walachia*, and alſo for the Agents of *Paſcha's*, every one of which hath his Miniſter at the Court, to ſend him Advices, and to anſwer for him, if any thing ſhould be amiſs repreſented. And though the *Turks* on occaſion of Ruptures and other Diſcontents looſe their reſpect towards the perſon of Ambaſſadors; yet ſtill it is commendable in them, that they commonly abſtain from the ſpoil and plunder of the Merchants Eſtates, with whoſe Prince they are at enmity; for they look on Merchants as Men, whoſe Profeſſion is beſt advanced by Peace; and as their own compariſon is, like to the laborious Bee which brings Honey to the Hive, and is innocent, induſtrious and profitable; and therefore an object of their compaſſion and defence.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

How Ambaſſadors and publick Miniſters govern Themſelves in their Negotiations and Reſidence amongſt the Turks.

AMbaſſadors in this Countrey have need both of courage and circumſpection, wiſedom to diſſemble with honour, and diſcreet patience, ſeemingly to take no notice of Affronts and Contempts, from which this uncivilized people cannot temperate their Tongues, even when they would ſeem to put on the moſt courteous deportment and reſpect toward Chriſtians. The *French* Ambaſſador *Monſieur le Haye*, ſent once to advice the great Viſier *Kuperli* that his Maſter had taken the ſtrong City of *Arras* from the *Spaniard*, and had obtained other Victories in *Flanders*, ſuppoſing that the *Turk* would outwardly have evidenced ſome ſigns of joy, and return an anſwer of Congratulation; but the reply the Viſier gave, was no other than this *(What matters it to me whether the Dog worries the Hog, or the Hog the Dog, ſo my Maſter's Head be but ſafe?)* intimating that he had no other eſteem of Chriſtians, than as Savages or Beaſts, and with no other anſwer than this, due to an officious Courtſhip towards a *Turk*, the Meſſenger returned. There is no doubt, but of all thoſe means, wherewith Kingdoms and States are ſupported, there are two more principal and chief of all others: The one is the ſubſtantial and real ſtrength and force of the Prince, which conſiſts in his Armies and Intereſt; and the other is the Honour and Reputation he gains abroad, which hath ſometimes proved of that Authority and Conſequence, as to make the State of

the weaker Prince to appear more conſiderable, or at leaſt, equal to the greater Forces of the other. This Reputation is principally maintained by a prudent manner of Negotiation, and depends on the diſcretion of the Repreſentative, in which for many years the Republick of *Venice* had great advantages in the *Turkiſh* Court, through the caution and policy of their Miniſters, who nouriſhed in the *Turks* an opinion of their ſtrength of Arms, and force of Wiſedom, beyond the reality thereof; that before the War broke forth, no Nation in amity with the *Turk* had their affairs treated with more honour and reſpect than this Commonwealth.

An Ambaſſador in this Court ought to be circumſpect and carefull to avoid the occaſion of having his honour blemiſhed, or of incurring the leaſt violation of his perſon; for afterward, as one baffled in his Reputation, he becomes ſcorned, loſes his Power and Intereſt, and all eſteem of his Worth and Wiſedom; for having endured one Affront, their inſolence ſoon preſumes farther to treſpaſs on his patience: for certainly *Turks* of all Nations in the World, are moſt apt to cruſh and trample on thoſe that lie under their feet; as on the contrary, thoſe who have a reputation with them, may make the beſt and moſt advantageous Treaties of any part of the World, according to that of *Busbequius*, *Ep.* 1. *Sunt Turci in utramq; partem nimii ſive indulgentia, cum pro amicis ſe probare volunt, ſive acerbitate cum irati ſunt.* To reply according to the Pride and Ignorance of a *Turk*, is properly to blow up Fire into a Flame; to ſupport with ſubmiſſion and a puſillanimous ſpirit, his Affronts and Indignities, by Negotiating faintly or coldly, is to add Fuel and Wood to the burning Piles; but ſolid Reaſon and Diſcourſe, accompanied with chearfull expreſſions, vivacity and courage in argument, is the

the onely manner of dealing and treating with the *Turks*. That which is called good nature or flexible diſpoſition, is of little uſe to a publick Miniſter in his Treaty with *Turks*: a punctual adherence to former cuſtoms and examples even to obſtinacy, is the beſt and ſafeſt Rule; for the conceſſion of one point ſerves to embolden them to demand another, and then a third; and ſo their hopes increaſe with the ſucceſs, having no modeſty nor wiſedom to terminate their deſires; one act or two of favour is enough afterwards to introduce a Cuſtome (which is the chiefeſt part of their Law) and to make that which is merely voluntary, and of grace, to become of obligation. But a principal matter, which a publick Miniſter ought to look to, is to provide himſelf of ſpirited, eloquent, and intelligent Interpreters; ſpirited, I ſay, becauſe many times the preſence is great they appear before, and the looks big and ſoure of a barbarous Tyrant; and it hath been known, that the Ambaſſador hath been forced to interpoſe his own perſon, between the fury of the Viſier and his Interpreter, whoſe offence was onely the delivery of the words of his Maſter; ſome of whom have notwithſtanding been impriſoned, or executed for this cauſe, as we have partly intimated in the foregoing Chapter: the reaſon of which Tyranny and Preſumption in theſe Prime Officers over the Interpreters, is becauſe they are moſt commonly born Subjects of the Grand Signior, and therefore ill ſupport the leaſt word miſ-placed, or ſavouring of conteſt from them, not diſtinguiſhing between the ſenſe of the Ambaſſador, and the explication of the Interpreter; and therefore it were very uſefull to breed up a Seminary of young *Engliſhmen*, of ſprightly and ingenious parts; to be qualified for that Office, who may with leſs danger to themſelves, honour to their Maſter, and advantage to the publick,

lick, expreſs boldly without the uſual mincing and ſubmiſſion of other Interpreters, whatſoever is commanded and declared by their Maſter.

The *French* Nation hath taken a very good courſe in breeding up Youths to make their Drugger-men or Interpreters; ſome few years paſt, twelve were ſent to *Smyrna*, where being a while inſtructed in the Convent of *Capuchins*, and there taught the *Turkiſh* and vulgar *Greek*, they are afterwards diſperſed to the ſeveral Factories; ſuch as were of moſt pregnant parts, being placed with the Ambaſſador at *Conſtantinople*. Such a proviſion of young Druggermen, at leaſt twelve, ought to be allowed, for ſome of them die, ſome grow weary of the Countrey, and are deſirous to return home; others not having a ſufficiency of parts, nor health, anſwer not expectation; ſo that if two or three of ſuch a number happen to ſucceed well, they are a great help to the Ambaſſador, and the Conſul where they ſerve. The *Engliſh* Ambaſſador had once three Youths ſent aboard on this deſign, but they are now all three dead, and one alone came into employment.

It is certainly a good Maxime for an Ambaſſador in this Countrey, not to be over-ſtudious in procuring a familiar friendſhip with *Turks*; a fair comportment towards all in a moderate way, is cheap and ſecure; for a *Turk* is not capable of real friendſhip towards a Chriſtian; and to have him called onely, and thought a friend who is in power, is an expence without profit; for in great emergencies, and times of neceſſity, when their aſſiſtence is moſt uſefull, he muſt be bought again, and his friendſhip renewed with Preſents, and farther expectations: howſoever this way of negotiating by preſents and gratuities, is ſo much in cuſtome amongſt the *Turks*, that to ſpeak truly, ſcarce any thing

thing can be obtained without it; but is the wiſedom of the Miniſter, to diſpoſe and place them with honour, decency and advantage: For there are, and have been always, two or three powerfull perſons in this Court, which in all times carry the principal ſway, and command of all; theſe muſt neceſſarily be treated with reſpect, and often ſweetned with Gratuities: he that hath Money may doubtleſs make friends when he needs them, and with that ſecure his Capitulation and his Privilege, purchaſe Juſtice, and if his ſtock will hold out, act any thing that can reaſonably be imagined; yet it is the moſt profitable and prudent way to refer ſomething to friendſhip and good correſpondence, and not all to mere force and ſtrength of Money.

CHAP. XXI.

How Foreign Princes in particular ſtand in the eſteem and opinion of the Turks.

THE *Turks*, as we have occaſionally inſtanced before, are naturally a proud and inſolent people, confident, and conceited of their own vertue, valour and forces, which proceeds from their ignorance of the ſtrength and conſtitution of other Countries; ſo that when the danger which may ariſe from the Conjunction and Union of Chriſtian Princes to the *Mahometan* Intereſt, is diſcourſed of, they compare the Grand Signior to the Lion, and other Kings to little Dogs, which may ſerve (as they ſay) to rouſe and diſcompoſe the quiet and Majeſty of the Lion, but can never bite him, but with their utmoſt peril. They ſay farther, as by an in-

ingenuous confeſſion, that they are unable to encounter the Chriſtians at Sea, to whom God hath given that unſtable Element for Dominion and Poſſeſſion; but that the Earth is the Lot and Inheritance of the *Turks*, which is demonſtrable by that great circuit of Empire, obedient to the *Mahometan* Arms. Theſe are the thoughts and apprehenſions of the Commonalty concerning *Chriſtendom* in general (which I have heard often diſcourſed amongſt them) but the opinion and eſteem which knowing Men and Miniſters frame of foreign Kingdoms and States diſtinctly, is for the moſt part according to theſe following particulars.

Of all the Princes ſo far remote as *England*, none amongſt this people ſtands in better account than his Majeſty of *Great Britain*, not onely for the convenience of the Trade, which provides the Empire with many neceſſary Commodities; but for the fame of His Shipping, and Power at Sea, which makes him, though divided from all parts of the World, yet a Borderer on every Countrey, where the Ocean extends: And this eſteem and honour the *Sultan* bears towards His Majeſty, hath been evidenced in ſeveral particulars, and by none more than by the ſecurity and freedom his Merchants live in, in theſe Dominions, and a readineſs always in every reaſonable requeſt, to gratifie His Majeſty's Ambaſſadors.

As for the Emperour, the *Turk* knows that his own proper and peculiar Force in it ſelf, is inconſiderable, but that with the conjunction and aſſiſtance of the *German* Princes, they are aſſured, and have proved it to their experience in the year 1664, that his ſtrength is equivalent to the *Ottoman* power; but yet they are not ignorant, that the diverſity of Religions and Sects in *Germany*, abate much of that vigor and coalition amongſt themſelves,

ſelves, which is requiſite to the vigorous oppoſition of ſo potent an Enemy. And it is evident, that the Emperour's unſeaſonable ſeverity againſt the Proteſtants in *Hungary*, diſobliging his whole Dominion there, by depriving them of their Churches, and exerciſing other courſes for ſuppreſſion of the Reformed Religion, ripened the *Turks* deſign of War firſt laid in the year 1663. conceiving in that conjuncture, holding forth the ſpecious pretence of Liberty in Religion and Conſcience, the *Hungarians* would either wholly deſert the Emperour, or very coldly and faintly apply themſelves to his ſuccour; the effect of which was in the ſucceeding Wars plainly verified, and known that the *Hungarians* were not onely ſparing in their Contribution and Supplies of Men in the Service of the Emperour, but held ſecret Juntoes and Councils, whether it were not better to accept the *Turks* Sovereignty, on the conditions propoſed, with liberty of their Religion, rather than to continue in Allegiance to the Emperour, who neither afforded them freedom of Conſcience, which is the Deſtruction of their Spiritual Eſtate, nor was able to withſtand the *Turk*, which argued inſufficiency to yield them protection in their Temporal. The Emperour ſends his Ambaſſador to the *Turk*, under Notion of the King of *Hungary*, becauſe at his Inſtalment as Emperour, he ſwears to make a perpetual War with the *Turk*; and indeed their Peace is little better than a War, conſidering their frequent incurſions into each others Territories; and that to skirmiſh or fight in Bodies under the number of 5000, not taking Forts, or bringing Cannons in the Field, is no breach of the Capitulations.

The *French* King, though the firſt Chriſtian Prince, that having no Confines bordering on theſe Dominions, entred into Capitulations with the *Turk* for a free

a free and open Commerce and Traffick; and obtained the Title of *Padeſhaw*, which ſignifies as much as Emperour, and is denied to all other Chriſtian Kings, and even to the *German* Emperour himſelf, being adjudged an honour amongſt the *Turks* proper and peculiar onely to the Grand Signior: yet their eſteem of the *French* is not ſo great as ſome would perſuade the World it is, having (as we have at large declared in the foregoing Chapter) given ample teſtimonies in the perſons of the Ambaſſador, of their ſcorn and neglect of the Prince he repreſented. I have heard the wiſe Lord Chancellor *Samoſade* ſay, that the *French* gained that Title of *Podeſhaw* to their King by craft and ſubtilty, and was never fully examined nor conſidered; and in that buſineſs there is a ſtrange *Romance* told of a fair *French* Lady, preferred to the *Seraglio*, whom the *Turks* were willing to receive for a Princeſs, and thence challenging affinity with the King of *France*, was the more profuſe in the honour of his Titles: It is true, there was a time when the *French* Ambaſſadors was called to ſecret Councils, and admitted within the Walls of the *Seraglio* to private meetings and debates of the *Turk*; but it was when the *French* plotted, and openly aſſiſted in tranſportation of the *Turks*, for the Invaſion of *Italy*; but ſince that time, and eſpecially in the year 1664. through the force give the Emperour, and the Bravado upon *Barbary*, the *French* hath always (and that not without ſome reaſon) gone declining in the good opinion and eſteem in the *Ottoman* Court.

The Pope is more eſteemed, as a Prince able to blow the Coals, and excite other Princes to the damage of the *Mahometan* State, rather than by his own power or force to effect any thing himſelf; and having no Confines bordering on the *Turks*, his Riches,

Riches, Power or Greatneſs ſeldom falls as a ſubject for their conſideration.

As little account would they make of the King of *Spain*, but that the *Granadin Turks*, of which there remains in *Conſtantinople* a conſiderable number ſince their expulſion, through an extreme affection naturally inherent in them to *Spain*, diſcourſe of it with a paſſion, not altogether free of a little *Rodomontado*, and vain-glory, Vices incident to their Countrey; whereby they create in the *Turks* a conceit of the Greatneſs, Riches and Force of *Spain*, according as it flouriſhed in the time that the *Moors* poſſeſſed their Seat and Habitation there. But yet the *Turks*, though a people injurious and negligent of the accurate ſtate of other places, beſides their own, are not altogether ignorant of the decay of *Spain*, the Wars in *Portugal*, and the Menaces from *France*, which makes them aim at one of the *Venetian* Ports in *Dalmatia*, to have the better proſpect and eaſier paſſage unto *Sicily*, or the Kingdom of *Naples*.

The eſteem the *Venetians* are in at this time amongſt them, is greater than when the War firſt began, for then they entertained an opinion of their Force much inferiour to the real eſtimation thereof; as they do now the contrary beyond their true ſtrength, making always calculates from the effect and ſucceſs of things. Yet the *Turk* knows, that the *Venetian* power is not comparable to his by Land, and that nothing but *Friuli* ſtands between him and the maſtery of *Venice*; which makes him aſhamed and angry, that after ſo many years Wars, no greater additions ſhould be acquired to the Empire, than his footing in *Candy*, the whole poſſeſſion of which was imagined at the beginning of the War, would upon a bare demand been quietly preſented as the price and purchaſe of the Peace.

The

The King of *Poland* is none of the leaſt amongſt the Chriſtian Princes eſteemed at the *Ottoman* Court, by reaſon of his great Power, conſiſting chiefly in Horſe, which in the opinion of the *Turks* is the moſt Warlike; and looks on the People as Martial, and with much difficulty brought under their ſubjection. But by reaſon of the great combuſtions and inteſtine troubles of that Countrey, the *Polanders* apply themſelves with much dexterity and caution in their Treaties with the *Turks*; and eſpecially, being borderers with them, and ſubject to their incurſions and robberies of Men and Cattel, they endeavour all means of fair and reaſonable complyance. And on the other ſide, the *Turk* is well inclined to the *Polander*, and deſires his proſperity beyond others of his Neighbour-Princes; becauſe he looks on him, as the onely curb upon all occaſions of the *Moſcovites*, and whom they may make uſe of, to give ſome ſtop and arreſt unto the progreſs of his Arms.

The *Moſcovite* hath yet a greater fame and renown with the *Turks*, being reported to make One hundred and fifty thouſand Horſe; ſo that he treats with the *Turk* on equal terms, and fills his Letters with high Threats and Hyperbolical expreſſions of his power, and with as ſwelling Titles as the *Turk*. The *Greeks* have alſo an inclination to the *Moſcovite* beyond any other Chriſtian Prince, as being of their Rites in Religion, terming him their Emperour and Protectour; from whom, according to the ancient Prophecies and modern Predictions, they expect delivery and freedom to their Church. But the greateſt dread the *Turk* hath of the *Moſcovite*, is from the union with the *Soffi* or *Perſian*, which two uniting together, would be too unequal a Match for the *Ottoman* Empire.

But above all the great Potentates of the World, the King of *Perſia* was moſt feared and eſteemed by the *Turk*, not onely by reaſon of his great Force, and that the Borders of his Dominions run a long ſpace on the Confines of the *Turks*, but becauſe it is almoſt impoſſible, by reaſon of the vaſt Deſarts, and uninhabited places, to carry the War into his Countrey, without the cumberſome carriages of all neceſſary Proviſions, which with how much difficulty and incommodity were performed in the laſt Wars between theſe two great Princes, the Hiſtory ſufficiently relates; but ſince the conqueſt of *Babylon*, and decay of their Riches, they are now the ſubjects of the *Turkiſh* ſcorn and contempt. The nearneſs of their Faith, though derived from the ſame Founder, but afterwards receiving ſome difference by the interpretation of *Haly*, is in no-wiſe a reconcilement of their affections; but rather a ground and matter of their fear and jealouſie, leſt at any time waging a War againſt the *Perſian*, that Hereſie ſhould begin to be ſet on foot amongſt the people, which like a ſpark that cauſes the conflagration of a whole City, may breed thoſe inteſtine Civil diſtractions, which may prove of more danger and ruine than the former War. It will not be neceſſary to ſpeak much of the *Hollanders*, in regard, that though they have a Reſident there, they are ſcarce taken notice of as a Nation different, but depending on the *Engliſh*.

Theſe foregoing words of *Holland*, have been liable to cenſure amongſt the *Dutch*; but for my Apology therein, I have thus much to ſay, That though the Aſſertion may ſeem ſtrange in theſe our times, yet when it was firſt wrote, which is now above 17 years paſt, it might have paſt for current Truth; *Diſtingue tempora & bene doces.* When I came firſt into *Turkey*, which was in the

year 1660. there were very few of the *Dutch* Nation then in *Turkey*, and their Trade very inconſiderable. At *Aleppo* they had no Conſul, till ſome years after my arrival *Levinus Warner* Reſident at *Conſtantinople* ſent his Brother firſt to that place; but before that time, they always lived under the *Engliſh* protection. At *Smyrna* they had no other for their Conſul, than one *Evan Ogle* a *Greek*, of whom either the *Dutch* or *Turks* took little notice, having recourſe very often to the *Engliſh* Conſul for his advice, and aſſiſtence. At *Conſtantinople* for many years the *Dutch* lived under the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadour, which was the occaſion of thoſe differences debated in the *Divan* between ours, and the *French* Ambaſſadour. Likewiſe *Levinus Warner*, a *German* born, lived for ſome years in the Houſe of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadour, untill afterwards, that by the Lords the States he was promoted to be their Reſident at the *Port:* All which happening in ſo ſhort time after my arrival in *Turkey*, it will not appear ſtrange to conſidering men, that the *Dutch* Nation ſhould not at that time by the generality of the people (though the Miniſters of State might know otherwiſe) be diſtinguiſhed from ours, or their Puiſſance, and Greatneſs ſo well underſtood as it is at preſent. The Heer *Colyer*, formerly Reſident, but now dignified with the Title of Ambaſſadour at the *Port*, and the ſeveral Conſuls in their reſpective Factories being much reſpected and eſteemed. And theſe are all the Nations conſiderable, with whom the *Turk* hath occaſion to treat, or that fall under his cogniſance or buſineſs.

When

When the Grand Signior hath occaſion to write unto any of the Chriſtian Princes, he commonly uſes theſe expreſſions at the beginning of the Letter.

To the Glory of the great Princes of JESUS, *Elected by the Reverend Senatours of the Religion of the* Meſſiah, *Compoſer of the Publick Affairs of the Chriſtian Nation. Patron (or Maſter) of a Courteous and Modeſt Train, Lord of thoſe Ways which lead to Honour and Glory, whoſe end may it be happy,* &c.

CHAP. XXII.

The regard the Turks *have to their Leagues with Foreign Princes.*

AS the Chriſtian Religion teaches Humility, Charity, Courteſie, and Faith towards all that are within the Pale of Humane Nature, to be φιλόξενοι καὶ φιλάνθρωποι; ſo the *Turkiſh* Superſtition furniſhes its Followers with principles, not onely to abhor the Doctrines, but alſo the Perſons of ſuch whom they term not Believers. The ſordidneſs of their Bloud, and ungentleneſs of their Education, makes them inſolent and ſwelled in proſperity; and their Victories and Spoils upon Chriſtians, render the Arms and Force of other parts contemptible in reſpect of theirs.

Upon theſe conſiderations of the vileneſs of Chriſtianity, and ſcorn of their power, they aſſume this into a Maxime, That they ought not to regard the Leagues they have with any Prince, or the reaſons and ground of a quarrel, whilſt the breach tends to the enlargement of their Empire, which conſequently infers the propagation of their Faith. Many and various are the examples and ſtories in all Ages, ſince the beginning and increaſe of the *Turkiſh* power, of the perfidiouſneſs and treachery of this people; that it may be a queſtion whether their valour and force hath prevailed more in the time of War, or the little care of their Faith and maintenance in their Leagues hath availed them in the time of Peace. Thus *Didymotichum* in the time of Peace, under *Amurath*, third King of the *Turks*, whilſt the Walls and Fortifications were building, was by the *Aſian* Labourers, which were entertained in the Work, and the help of other *Turks* which lay near in Ambuſh, ſurprized and taken; ſo alſo *Rodeſtum* in the time of Peace by command of *Amurath*, was by *Eurenoſes* aſſaulted and taken by ſtrategeme; ſo *Adrianople* in the reign of the ſame Emperour, after Peace made again, and aſſurances given of better Faith, was by the art and diſguiſe of *Chaſis-Ilbeg*, pretending to be a diſcontented Captain and a Fugitive from the *Turks*, by fair Speeches and ſome Actions and Skirmiſhes abroad, gained ſuch confidence among the credulous *Greeks*, as enabled him afterwards to ſet the Gates open to *Amurath*'s Army, which after ſome Conflict was taken, and never recovered again by the power of the *Greeks*.

Now called *Rhodeſto*.

It is an old and practiſed ſubtilty of the *Turks*, immediately after ſome notable Misfortune to entreat of Peace, by which means they may gain time to recollect their Forces and Proviſions to proſe-

cute

cute the War. It is notable and worthy of Record, the treachery of the Treaty uſed the year 1604. Begun in the time of *Mahomet* the Third, and broken off by *Achmet* his Succeſſour. The Overtures for a Treaty were firſt propounded by the *Turks*; and Commiſſioners from the Emperour appointed, and met the *Turks* at *Buda*; twelve days Truce were concluded for conſideration of the Articles, and Preſents ſent by the *Turks* to the Emperour, to perſuade of the reality of their intentions. *Mahomet* dying, *Sultan Achmet* renews his Commiſſion to the *Baſſa* of *Buda* to continue the Treaty; whereupon the *Chriſtian* and *Turks* Commiſſioners have another meeting at *Peſt*; where whilſt the Chriſtians were courteouſly treating the Infidels in Tents near the Town, and they to create in the Chriſtians an aſſurance of their faithfull dealings, were producing Letters from their *Sultan* and Prime Viſier filled with Oaths and Proteſtations, as by the God of Heaven and Earth, by the Book of *Moſes*, by the Souls of their Anceſtours, and the like, that their intentions for Peace were real, and meant nothing but what was honourable and juſt: At that very time the *Turks* of *Buda*, conceiving that in the time of this great jollity and confidence, the Walls of *Peſt* were neglected and ſlightly manned, iſſued out in great numbers to ſurprize it; the alarm of which ended the Banquet, and the *Turks* finding matters contrary to their expectation, returned onely with the ſhame of their treachery.

It is no wonder the Diſciples ſhould in a point of ſo great liberty and advantage follow the Example and Doctrine of their Maſter; for the like *Mahomet* did when overthrown, and repulſed at the Siege of *Mecha*, made a firm League with the Inhabitants of ſtrict Peace and Amity: but the next Summer, having again recruited his Forces, eaſily

ſurprized and took the City, whilſt that People relying on the late Agreement, ſuſpected nothing leſs than the Prophets treachery. And that ſuch perfidiouſneſs as this might not be Chronicled in future Ages, in diſparagement of his Sanctity; he made it lawfull for his Believers, in caſes of like nature, when the matter concerned thoſe who are Infidels, and of a different perſuaſion, neither to regard Promiſes, Leagues, or other Engagements; and this is read in the Book of the Inſtitutions of the *Mahometan* Law, called *Kitab Hadaia*.

It is the uſual form and cuſtome, when a noble advantage is eſpied on any Countrey, with which they have not ſufficient ground of quarrel, to demand the opinion of the *Muftee*, for the lawfulneſs of War; who without conſulting other conſideration and judgment of the reaſonable occaſions, than the utility of the Empire, in conformity to the foregoing preſident of his Prophet, paſſes his *Fetfa* or Sentence; by which the War becomes warrantable, and the cauſe juſtified and allowed.

It is not to be denied, but even amongſt Chriſtian Princes and other the moſt gallant People of the World, advantages have been taken contrary to Leagues, and Faith, and Wars commenced upon frivolous and ſlight pretences; and the States have never wanted reaſons for the breach of Leagues; though confirmed by Oaths and all the Rites of Religious Vows: We know it is controverted in the Schools, whether Faith is to be maintained with Infidels, with Hereticks, and wicked Men; which in my opinion were more honourable to be out of queſtion.

But we never reade that perfidiouſneſs by Act and Proclamation was allowable, or that it was wholly to be faithleſs, untill the Doctours of the *Mahometan* Law, by the example of their Prophet recorded

recorded and commanded this Leſſon, as a beneficial and uſefull Axiome to their Diſciples.

And here I cannot but wonder at what I have heard and read in ſome Books of the Honeſty and Juſtice of the *Turks*, extolling and applauding them, as Men accompliſhed with all the vertues of a moral life; thence ſeeming to infer that Chriſtianity it ſelf impoſes none of thoſe engagements of goodneſs on Mens natures, as the Profeſſours of it do imagine. But ſuch men I believe, have neither read the Hiſtories, nor conſulted the rules of their Religion, nor practiſed their converſation; and in all points being ignorant of the truth of the *Turks* dealing, it is not ſtrange, if through a charitable opinion of what they know not, they err in the apprehenſion and character they paſs upon them.

OF THE Turkiſh Religion.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

Of the Religion of the Turks *in general.*

THE Civil Laws appertaining to Religion amongſt the *Turks*, are ſo confounded into one Body, that we can ſcarce treat of one without the other; for they conceive that the Civil Law came as much from God, being delivered by their Prophet, as that which immediately reſpects their Religion, and came with the ſame obligations and injunctions to obedience. And though this Polity was a Fiction of ſome, who firſt founded certain Governments, as *Numa Pompilius*, *Solon*, and the like, to put the greater engagements and ties on Men, as well of conſcience, as through fear of puniſhment; yet in the general that propoſition is true, that all Laws which reſpect Right and Juſtice, and are tending to a foundation of good and honeſt Government, are of God; *For*

there

there is no power but of God, and the powers that be, are ordained of God. And then if God owns the creation and conſtitution of all Princes and Rulers, as well the Pagans as Chriſtians; the Tyrants, as the indulgent Fathers of their People and Countrey; no leſs doth he diſallow the Rules and Laws fitted to the Conſtitution and Government of a People, giving no diſpenſation to their obedience, becauſe their Prince is a Tyrant, or their Laws not founded according to true reaſon, but to the humour of their corrupted judgments or intereſt. Rom. 13.

It is vulgarly known to all, that their Law was compiled by *Mahomet*, with the help of *Sergius* the Monk (and thence this ſuperſtition is named *Mahometaniſm*) whoſe infamous life is recorded ſo particularly in many other Books, that it were too obvious to be repeated here: and therefore we ſhall inſiſt, and take a view of the Rites, Doctrines and Laws of the *Turkiſh Religion*, which is founded in three Books, which may not improperly be called the *Codes* and *Pandects* of the *Mahometan* Conſtitutions.

The firſt is the *Alchoran*; the ſecond, the Conſent or Teſtimony of Wiſemen, called the *Aſſonah*, or the Traditions of the Prophets; and the third, the Inferences or Deductions of one thing from another. *Mahomet* wrote the *Alchoran*, and preſcribed ſome Laws for the Civil Government: the other Additions or Superſtructures were compoſed by their Doctours that ſucceeded, which were *Ebbubecher*, *Omer*, *Ozman* and *Haly*; the *Califfs* of *Babylon* and *Egypt*, were other Doctours and Expoſitours of their Law; whoſe Sentences and Poſitions were of Divine Authority amongſt them; but their eſteem of being Oraculous failing with their Temporal power, that Dignity and Authority of Infallible Determinations, was by force of the Sword transferred to the *Turkiſh Muſti*. And though there is great diverſity amongſt the

the Doctours, as touching the explication of their Law, yet he is eſteemed a true Believer, who obſerves theſe five Articles or Fundamentals of the Law, to which every *Turk* is obliged. The firſt is, cleanneſs in the Outward parts of their Body and Garments. Secondly, to make Prayers five times a day. Thirdly, to obſerve the *Ramazan* or Monthly Faſt. Fourthly, to perform faithfully the *Zekat*, or giving of Alms according to the proportion preſcribed in a certain Book, wrote by the four Doctours of theirs, called *Aſan*, *Embela*, &c. Fifthly, to make their Pilgrimage to *Mecha*, if they have means and poſſibility to perform it. But the Article of Faith required to be believed is but one, *viz.* that there is but one God, and *Mahomet* his Prophet. Other Rites, as Circumciſion, Obſervation of a *Friday* for a day of Devotion, Abſtinence from Swines-fleſh, and from Bloud, (as they ſay) amongſt the five principal points, becauſe they are enjoined as trials and proofs of Mans obedience to the more neceſſary Law.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The Toleration that Mahometaniſm *in its infancy promiſed to other Religions; and in what manner that Agreement was afterwards obſerved.*

WHEN *Mahometaniſm* was firſt weak, and therefore put on a modeſt Countenance and plauſible Aſpect to deceive Mankind, it found a great part of the World illuminated with Chriſtianity, endued with active Graces, Zeal, and Devotion, and eſtabliſhed within it ſelf with purity of Doctrine, Union, and firm profeſſion of the Faith, though greatly ſhaken by the Hereſies of *Arius* and *Neſtorius*; yet it began to be guarded not onely with its patience, long-ſuffering, and hope, but alſo with the Fortifications, Arms and Protection of Emperours and Kings: ſo that *Mahometaniſm* coming then on the diſadvantage, and having a hard game to play, either by the luſtre of graces, and good examples of a ſtrict live to out-ſhine Chriſtianity; or by a looſneſs and indulgence to corrupt manners, to pervert men dedicated to God's ſervice; or by cruelty or menaces to gain thoſe who accounted Martyrdom their greateſt glory, and were now alſo defended by the power of their own Princes; judges it beſt policy to make profers of truce and peace between the Chriſtian and its own profeſſion: and therefore in all places where its Arms were prevalent and proſperous, proclaimed a free Toleration to all Religions; but eſpecially in outward appearance, courted and favoured the Chriſtian, drawing its Tenents and Doctrines in ſome conformity to that rule, confeſſing *Chriſt* to be a Prophet, and greater than *Moſes*,

Moſes, that he was born of a Virgin; that *Mary* conceived by the ſmell of a Roſe; that the bleſſed Virgin was free from original Sin, and the Temptations of the Devil; that *Chriſt* was the Word of God, and is ſo ſtyled in the *Alchoran*, and cured Diſeaſes, raiſed the Dead, and worked many Miracles; and by his power, his Diſciples did the like: and I have heard ſome ſpeak of him with much reverence, and with heat to deny *Chriſt*'s Paſſion; ſaying, it were an impiety to believe that God, who loved and had conferred ſo much power, and ſo many graces on *Chriſt*, ſhould ſo far diſhonour him, as to deliver him into the hands of the *Jews*, who were the worſt and moſt ſcorned of men; or to the death of the Croſs, which was the moſt infamous and vile of all puniſhments.

In this manner they ſeemed to make a league with Chriſtianity, to be charitable, modeſt, and well-wiſhers to its Profeſſours; and *Mahomet* himſelf ſays in his *Alchoran* thus: "O Infidels, I do not adore "what you adore, and you adore not what I worſhip; "obſerve you your Law, and I will obſerve mine: And for a farther aſſurance of his toleration of Chriſtianity, and evidence to the World, that his intention was neither to perſecute nor extirpate their Religion; he made this following Compact, the Original of which was found in the Monaſtery of Fryars on Mount *Carmel*, and, as it is ſaid, was tranſported to the King's Library in *France*; which becauſe it is ancient, and of curioſity, it will not be impertinent to be inſerted here.

"*Mahomet* ſent from God to teach Mankind, and "declare the Divine Commiſſion in truth, wrote "theſe things. That the cauſe of Chriſtian Reli-"gion determined by God, might remain in all "parts of the Eaſt, and of the Weſt, as well a-"mongſt the Inhabitants, as Strangers, near, and "remote,

"remote, known, and unknown: to all theſe Peo-
"ple I leave this preſent Writing, as an inviolable
"League, as a deciſion of all farther Controverſies,
"and a Law whereby juſtice is declared, and ſtrict
"obſervance enjoined. Therefore whoſoever of the
"*Moſſelmans* Faith ſhall neglect to perform theſe
"things, and violate this League, and after the man-
"ner of Infidels break it, and tranſgreſs what I com-
"mand herein, he breaks the Compact of God, re-
"ſiſts his Agreement, and contemns his Teſtament,
"whether he be a King, or any other of the Faith-
"full. By this Agreement, whereby I have obliged
"my ſelf, and which the Chriſtians have required of
"me, and in my Name, and in the name of all my
"Diſciples, to enter into a Covenant of God with
"them, and League and Teſtament of the Pro-
"phets, Apoſtles, Elect, and faithfull Saints, and
"bleſſed of times paſt and to come. By this Co-
"venant, I ſay, and Teſtament of mine (which I
"will have maintained with as much Religion, as
"a Prophet Miſſionary, or as an Angel next to the
"Divine Majeſty, is ſtrict in his obedience towards
"God, and in obſervance to his Law and Covenant)
"I promiſe to defend their Judges in my Provinces,
"with my Horſe and Foot, Auxiliaries, and other
"my faithfull Followers; and to preſerve them
"from their Enemies; whether remote, or near,
"and ſecure them both in Peace and War: and
"to protect their Churches, Temples, Oratories,
"Monaſteries, and Places of Pilgrimage, where-
"ſoever ſituated, whether Mountain or Valley, Ca-
"vern or Houſe, a Plain, or upon the Sand, or in
"what ſort of Edifice ſoever: alſo to preſerve their
"Religion and their goods in what part ſoever they
"are, whether at Land or Sea, Eaſt or Weſt, even as
"I keep my ſelf and my Sceptre, and the faithfull
"Believers of my own People. Likewiſe, to receive

Moſſelman ſignifies a *Believer*, and ſo the *Turks* call themſelves.

"them

" them into my protection from all harm, vexation,
" offence and hurt. Moreover to repell thoſe ene-
" mies which are offenſive to them and me, and
" ſtoutly to oppoſe them both in my own Perſon,
" by my Servants, and all others of my People and
" Nation. For ſince I am ſet over them, I ought
" to preſerve and defend them from all adverſity,
" and that no evil touch them before it firſt afflict
" mine, who labour in the ſame Work. I promiſe
" farther to free them from thoſe burthens which
" confederates ſuffer, either by Lones of Money, or
" Impoſitions; ſo that they ſhall be obliged to pay
" nothing but what they pleaſe, and no moleſtation
" or injury ſhall be offered them herein. A Biſhop
" ſhall not be removed from his Dioceſe, or a Chri-
" ſtian compelled to renounce his Faith, or a Monk
" his Profeſſion, or a Pilgrim diſturbed in his Pil-
" grimage, or a Religious Man in his Cell: Nor
" ſhall their Churches be deſtroyed, or converted
" into Moſques: for whoſoever doth ſo break this
" Covenant of God, oppoſes the Meſſenger of God,
" and fruſtrates the Divine Teſtament. No Impoſi-
" tions ſhall be laid upon Fryars or Biſhops, nor any
" of them who are not liable to Taxes, unleſs it be
" with their own conſent. And the Tax which ſhall
" be required from rich Merchants, and from Fiſher-
" men of their Pearl, from Miners of their Pretious
" Stones, Gold and Silver; and all other rich and
" opulent Chriſtians, ſhall not exceed above 12 ſhil-
" lings yearly; and it ſhall alſo be from them who
" are conſtant Inhabitants of the place, and not
" from Travellers, and Men of an uncertain abode;
" for they ſhall not be ſubject to Impoſitions or Con-
" tributions, unleſs they are Poſſeſſours of Inheri-
" tance of Land or Eſtate; for he which is lawfully
" ſubject to pay Money to the Emperour, ſhall pay as
" much as another, and not more; nor more required

" from

"from him above his faculty and ſtrength. In like "manner, he that is taxed for his Land, Houſes, or "Revenue, ſhall not be burthened immoderately, nor "oppreſſed with greater Taxes than any others that "pay Contribution: Nor ſhall the Confederates be "obliged to go to the War with the *Moſſelmans* a-"gainſt their Enemies, either to fight or diſcover "their Armies, becauſe it is not of duty to a Confe-"derate to be employed in Military Affairs; but "rather this Compact is made with them, that they "may be the leſs oppreſſed; but rather the *Moſſel-"mans* ſhall watch, and ward, and defend them: "And therefore, that they be not compelled to go "forth to fight, or encounter the Enemy, or find "Horſe or Arms, unleſs they voluntarily furniſh "them; and he who ſhall thus willingly contribute, "ſhall be recompenſed and rewarded. No *Moſſelman* "ſhall infeſt the Chriſtians, nor contend with them "in any thing but in kindneſs, but treat them with "all courteſie, and abſtain from all oppreſſion or "violence towards them. If any Chriſtian commit a "crime or fault, it ſhall be the part of the *Moſſel-"man* to aſſiſt him, intercede and give caution for "him, and compound for his miſcarriage; liberty "ſhall alſo be given to redeem his life, nor ſhall he "be forſaken, nor be deſtitute of help, becauſe of the "Divine Covenant which is with them, that they "ſhould enjoy what the *Moſſelmans* enjoy, and ſuffer "what they ſuffer: and on the other ſide, that the "*Moſſelmans* enjoy what they enjoy, and ſuffer what "they ſuffer. And according to this Covenant, "which is by the Chriſtians juſt requeſt, and accor-"ding to that endeavour which is ſo required for "confirmation of its Authority, you are obliged to "protect them from all calamity, and perform all "offices of good-will towards them, ſo that the "*Moſſelmans* may be ſharers with them in proſperity

and

" and adverſity. Moreover, all care ought to be
" had, that no violence be offered to them, as to
" matters relating to Marriage, *viz.* That they
" compell not their Parents to match their Daugh-
" ters with *Moſſelmans* : Nor ſhall they be moleſted
" for refuſal either to give a Bridegroom or a Bride;
" for this is an act wholly voluntary, depending
" on their free-will and pleaſure. But if it happen
" that a Chriſtian Woman ſhall join with a *Moſſel-*
" *man*, he is obliged to give her liberty of Con-
" ſcience in her Religion, that ſhe may obey her
" Ghoſtly Father, and be inſtructed in the Doc-
" trines of her Faith without impediment; there-
" fore he ſhall not diſquiet her, either by threatning
" divorce, or by ſolicitations to forſake her Faith:
" but if he ſhall be contrary hereunto, and moleſt
" her herein, he deſpiſes the Covenant of God,
" rebels againſt the Compact of the Meſſenger of
" God, and is entred into the number of Lyars.
" Moreover when Chriſtians would repair their
" Churches or Convents, or any thing elſe ap-
" pertaining unto their Worſhip, and have need
" of the liberality and aſſiſtence of the *Moſſelmans*
" hereunto, they ought to contribute, and freely
" to beſtow according to their ability; not with in-
" tention to receive it again, but *gratis*; and as a
" good-will towards their Faith, and to fulfill the
" Covenant of the Meſſenger of God, conſidering
" the obligation they have to perform the Cove-
" nant of God, and the Compact of the Meſſenger
" of God. Nor ſhall they oppreſs any of them living
" amongſt the *Moſſelmans*, nor hate them, nor com-
" pell them to carry Letters, or ſhew the way, or
" any other manner force them : for he which exer-
" ciſes any manner of this Tyranny againſt them, is
" an Oppreſſour, and an Adverſary to the Meſſenger
" of God, and refractary to his Precepts. Theſe

" are

"are the Covenants agreed between *Mahomet* the "Meſſenger of God, and Chriſtians. But the con- "ditions on which I bind theſe Covenants on their "Conſciences, are theſe, That no Chriſtian give "any entertainment to a Soldier, enemy to the "*Moſſelmans*, or receive him in his houſe publickly "or privately; that they receive none of the ene- "mies of the *Moſſelmans*, as ſojourners into their "Houſes, Churches, or Religious Convents; nor "under-hand furniſh the Camp of their Enemies "with Arms, Horſe, Men, or maintain any inter- "courſe or correſpondence with them, by contracts "or writing; but betaking themſelves to ſome cer- "tain place of abode, ſhall attend to the preſer- "vation of themſelves, and to the defence of their "Religion. To any *Moſſelman* and his Beaſts, they "ſhall give three days entertainment with variety "of Meat; and moreover, ſhall endeavour to de- "fend them from all misfortune and trouble; ſo "that if any *Moſſelman* ſhall be deſirous, or be com- "pelled to conceal himſelf in any of their houſes or "habitations, they ſhall friendly hide him, and de- "liver him from the danger he is in, and not betray "him to his Enemy: and in this manner the Chri- "ſtians performing Faith on their ſide, whoſoever "violates any of theſe conditions, and doth contra- "rily, ſhall be deprived of the benefits contained "in the Covenant of God and his Meſſenger; nor ſhall "he deſerve to enjoy theſe priviledges indulged to "Biſhops and Chriſtian Monks, and to the Believers of "the contents of the *Alchoran*. Wherefore I conjure "my people by God and his Prophet to maintain "theſe things faithfully, and fulfil them, in what part "ſoever of the World they are. And the Meſſen- "ger of God ſhall recompence them for the ſame; "the perpetual obſervation of which he ſeriouſly "recommends to them, until the day of Judgment,

"and Diſſolution of the World. Of theſe condi-
"tions which *Mahomet* the Meſſenger of God hath
"agreed with the Chriſtians, and hath enjoyed, the
"witneſſes were,

"*Abu Bacre Aßadiqu, Omar ben-alcharab.*
"*Ithman ben Afaw, Ati ben abi taleb,*

"with a number of others; the Secretary was
"*Moavia ben abi Sofian*, a Soldier of the Meſſenger
"of God, the laſt day of the Moon of the fourth
"Month, the fourth year of *Hegira* in *Medina.*
"May God renumerate thoſe who are witneſſes to
"this writing. Praiſe be to God the Lord of all
"Creatures.

This Covenant or Articles with Chriſtians (howſoever denied by the *Turks* to have been the act and agreement of *Mahomet*) is yet by very good Authors taken for real, and to have been at that time confirmed when his Kingdom was weak, and in its infancy, and when he warred with the *Arabians*: and fearing likewiſe the enmity of the Chriſtians (not to be aſſaulted by two Enemies at once) ſecured himſelf by this Religious League, made in the Monaſtry of *Fryars*, in Mount *Carmel*, from whence that ſtrict Order have their denomination. But mark how well *Mahomet* in the ſequel obſerved this Law: As ſoon as his Govenrment increaſed, and that by Arms and bad Arts he had ſecured his Kingdom, he writes this Chapter of the Sword, called ſo perhaps becauſe the firſt words are often engraved on the *Turks* Cymeters made at *Damaſcus*, and other their Bucklers and other ſort of Arms: And another Chapter in the *Alchoran*, called the Chapter of Battel (which is always read by the *Turks* before they go to fight) and therein his modeſt words (If you adore

adore not what I adore, let your Religion be to you, and mine to me) and other promiſes of toleration and indulgence to the Chriſtian Religion, were changed to a harſher note; and his Edicts were then for blood and ruin, and enſlavement of Chriſtians: *When you meet with Infidels*, ſaith he, *cut off their heads, kill them, take them Priſoners, bind them, until either you think fit to give them liberty, or pay their ranſome; and forbear not to perſecute them, until they have laid down their arms and ſubmitted.* And this is that ſort of Toleration the *Turks* give to the Chriſtian Religion; they know they cannot force Mens Wills, nor captivate their Conſciences, as well as their Bodies; but what means may be uſed to render them contemptible, to make them poor, their lives uncomfortable, and the intereſt of their Religion weak and deſpicable, are practiſed with divers Arts and Tyranny, that their toleration of Chriſtianity is rather to afflict and perſecute it, than any grant of favour or diſpenſation.

The *Mahometan* Religion tolerates Chriſtian Churches and Houſes of Devotion, in places where they have been anciently founded, but admits not of holy Buildings on new foundations; they may repair the old Coverings and Roofs, but cannot lay a Stone in a new place Conſecrated to Divine Service; nor if Fire, or any accident deſtroy the Superſtructure, may a new ſtrength be added to the foundation, wherewith to under-prop for another Building; ſo that at laſt the Chriſtian Churches in thoſe Dominions muſt neceſſarily come to ruin, as many already have ſubmitted to the common fate of time. And as it happened in the great and notable Fires of *Galata* firſt, and then of *Conſtantinople*, in the year 1660, that many of the Chriſtian Churches and Chappels were brought to Aſhes; and afterwards by the Piety and Zeal of Chriſtians ſcarce re-

edified, before by publick order they were thrown down again into their former heaps, being judged contrary to the *Turkiſh* Law, to permit Churches again to be reſtored, of which no more remained than the meer foundation.

CHAP. III.

The Arts wherewith the Turkiſh Religion *is propagated.*

THE *Turks*, tho' they offer the ſpecious outſide of the foregoing toleration, yet by their Law are authorized to enforce Mens Conſciences to the profeſſion of their Faith; and that is done by various arts and niceties of Religion: For if a man turn *Turk*, his Children under the age of 14 years, though bred up with other Principles, muſt be forced to the ſame perſwaſion. Men that ſpeak againſt the *Mahometan* Law, that have raſhly promiſed at a time of diſtraction or drunkenneſs to become *Turks*, or have had a carnal knowledge of a *Turkiſh* Woman, muſt either become Martyrs or Apoſtates; beſides many other ſubtilties they have to entrap the Souls of Chriſtians within the entanglements of their Law.

It is another Policy wherewith the *Mahometan* Sect hath been encreaſed, the accounting it a Principle of Religion, not to deliver a City or Fortreſs by conſent or voluntary ſurrender, where *Moſques* have been once built, and *Mahometaniſm* profeſſed. And therefore the *Turk* no ſooner enters a Town by Conqueſt, but immediately lays foundation for his Temples, thereby impoſing an obligation of an obſtinate

obſtinate and conſtant reſolution on the conſcience of the defendants, which many times hath been found to have been more forcible and prevalent on the ſpirits of men, than all the terrors and miſeries of Famine, Sword, or other Calamities.

It is well enough known upon what different intereſts Chriſtianity and *Mahometaniſm* were introduced into the World; the firſt had no other enforcements, than the perſwaſions and Sermons of a few poor Fiſhermen, verified with Miracles, Signs and Inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt; carrying before it the promiſes of another life, and conſiderations of a glorified ſpirituality in a ſtate of ſeparation; but the way to it was obſtructed with the oppoſition of Emperors and Kings, with ſcorn and contempt, with perſecution and death; and this was all the encouragement propoſed to Mankind to embrace this Faith: but *Mahometaniſm* made its way with the Sword; what knots of Argument he could not untie, he cut, and made his ſpiritual power as large as his temporal; made his precepts eaſie and pleaſant, and acceptable to the fancy and appetite, as well as to the capacity of the vulgar: repreſenting Heaven to them, not in a ſpiritual manner, or with delights unexpreſſible, and raviſhments known only in part to illuminated Souls; but with groſs conceptions of the beauty of Women with great Eyes, of the duration of one act of Carnal copulation for the ſpace of ſixty years, and of the beaſtly ſatisfaction of a gluttonous Palate; things abſurd and ridiculous to wiſe and knowing Men; but yet capable to draw multitudes of its profeſſors, and carnal defenders of its verity. And this Doctrine being irrational to the better ſort of judgments, cauſes the Lawyers, who are men of the ſubtileſt capacities amongſt the *Turks*, to miſtruſt much of the truth of the Doctrine of *Mahomet*;

met; eſpecially the aſſertions relating to the condition of the other life. For the repreſentation of the delights of the next World, in a corporeal and ſenſual manner, being inconſiſtent with their reaſon, leads them to doubt the truth of that point; and ſo wavering with one ſcruple, proceed to a miſtruſt of the whole Syſtem of the *Mahometans* Faith. One would think that in ſuch men a way were prepared for the entertainment of a Religion, erected on more ſolid principles and foundations; and that the Jews might gain ſuch Proſelytes to their Law, from which a great part of the *Mahometan* ſuperſtition was borrowed; or that the Chriſtians might take advantage in ſo well diſpoſed ſubjects, to produce ſomething of the Myſtery of Godlineſs; But the firſt are a people ſo obnoxious to ſcorn and contempt, eſteemed by the *Turks* to be the ſcum of the World, and the worſt of men; that it is not probable their Doctrine can gain a reputation with thoſe, to whom their very perſons and blood are vile and deteſtable; nor is it likely the Chriſtians will ever be received by them with greater Authority, and more favourable inclination, until they acquit themſelves of the ſcandal of Idolatry, which the Images and Pictures in their Churches ſeem to accuſe them of in the eyes and judgment of the *Turks*, who are not verſed in the ſubtile diſtinctions of Schoolmen, in the limitations and reſtrictions of that Worſhip, and the evaſions of their Doctors, matters not only ſufficient to puzzle and diſtract the groſs heads of *Turks*, but to ſtrain the wits of learned Chriſtians to cleat them from that imputation.

But to return to our purpoſe. The propagation of the *Mahometan* Faith having been promoted wholly by the Sword; that perſwaſion and principle in their Catechiſm, that the Souls of thoſe who die

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in the Wars againſt the Chriſtians, without the help of previous acts of performance of their Law, or other Works, are immediately tranſported to Paradiſe, muſt neceſſarily whet the Swords and raiſe the Spirits of the Soldiers; which is the reaſon that ſuch Multitudes of them (as we read in Hiſtory) run evidently to their own Slaughter, eſteeming their Lives and Bodies at no greater price than the value of Stones and Rubbiſh to fill Rivulets and Ditches, that they may but erect a Bridge or Paſſage for their fellows to aſſault their Enemies.

The ſucceſs of the *Mahometan* Arms produced another argument for the confirmation of their Faith, and made it a Principle, That whatſoever proſpers, hath God for the Author; and by how much more ſucceſsful have been their Wars, by ſo much the more hath God been an owner of their Cauſe and Religion. And the ſame argument (if I am not miſtaken) in the times of the late Rebellion in *England*, was made uſe of by many, to intitle God to their Cauſe, and make him the Author of their thriving Sin, becauſe their wickedneſs proſpered, and could trample on all holy and human Rights with impunity. And I have known that the *Romaniſts* have judged the Afflictions and almoſt Subverſion of the Church of *England*, to be a token of Gods deſertion and diſclaim of her Profeſſion; forgetting the Perſecutions and Martyrdoms of the Primitive Saints, and that the Church of God is built in Sorrow and eſtabliſhed with patience and paſſive Graces: but theſe men rather than want an argument, their malice will uſe the weapons of Infidels to oppugn the truth. And on this ground, the *Turks* ſo horribly deteſt and abhor the *Jews*, calling them the forſaken of God, becauſe they are Vagabonds over all the World, and have no Temporal Authority to protect them: And though according to the

beſt enquiry I could make, that report is not true, That they permit not a *Jew* to become a *Turk*, but by turning a Chriſtian firſt, as a nearer ſtep and previous diſpoſition to the *Muſſelmans* Faith; yet it is certain they will not receive the Corps of a Renegada *Jew* into their Cemetries or place of Burial: and the *Jews* on the other ſide diſowning any ſhare or part in him, his loathed Carkaſs is thrown into ſome Grave diſtant from other Sepulchers, as unworthy the Society of all Mankind.

CHAP. IV.

The Power and Office of the Mufti's, *and of their Government in Religious Matters.*

THe *Mufti* is the principal head of the *Mahometan* Religion or Oracle of all doubtful queſtions in the Law, and is a perſon of great eſteem and reverence amongſt the *Turks*; his Election is ſolely in the Grand Signior, who chuſes a man to that Office always famous for his Learning in the Law, and eminent for his vertues and ſtrictneſs of Life; his Authority is ſo great amongſt them, that when he paſſes Judgment or Determination in any point, the Grand Signior himſelf will in no wiſe contradict or oppoſe it.

The Title which the Grand Signior gives unto the *Mufti*, when he writes to him, is,

To the Eſad, who art the Wiſeſt of the Wiſe, inſtructed in all Knowledg, the moſt Excellent of the Excellent, abſtaining from things Unlawful, the Spring of Vertue, and True Science, Heir

of

of the Prophetick and Apoſtolical Doctrines, Reſolver of the Problems of Faith, Revealer of the Orthodox Articles, Key of the Treaſures of Truth, the Light to Doubtful Allegories, ſtrengthened with the grace of the Supreme Aſſiſtor, and Legiſlator of Mankind. May the moſt High God perpetuate thy Virtues.

His power is not compulſory, but only reſolving and perſwaſive in matters both Civil and Criminal, and of State: his manner of reſolves is by writing; the queſtion being firſt ſtated in Paper briefly and ſuccinctly, he underneath ſubſcribes his ſentence by Yes, or No, or in ſome other ſhort Determination called a *Fetfa*, with the addition of theſe words, *God knows better*; by which it is apparent that the Determinations of the *Mufti* are not eſteemed infallible. This being brought to the *Cadee* or Judg, his Judgment is certainly regulated according thereunto, and Law Suits of the greateſt moment concluded in an hour, without Arreſts of Judgment, Appeals, or other dilatory Arts of the Law.

In matters of State the *Sultan* demands his opinion, whether it be in Condemnation of any great man to Death, or in making War or Peace, or other important Affairs of the Empire; either to appear the more juſt and religious, or to incline the People more willingly to Obedience. And this practice is uſed in buſineſs of greateſt moment; ſcarce a Viſier is proſcribed, or a *Paſhaw* for pretence of crime diſplaced, or any matter of great alteration or change deſigned, but the Grand Signior arms himſelf with the *Mufti's* Sentence; for the nature of man repoſes more ſecurity in innocence and actions of Juſtice, than in the abſolute and uncontroulable power of the Sword. And the Grand Signior, tho he himſelf is above the Law, and is the Oracle and

Fountain

Fountain of Juſtice, yet it is ſeldom that he proceeds ſo irregularly to contemn that Authority wherein their Religion hath placed an ultimate power of Deciſion in all their Controverſies.

But ſometimes perhaps Quæries are ſent from the Grand Signior to the *Mufti*, which he cannot reſolve with ſatisfaction of his own Conſcience, and the ends of the *Sultan*; by which means affairs important to the well being of the State, meet delays and impediment; In this caſe the *Mufti* is fairly diſmiſſed from his infallible office, and another Oracle introduced, who may reſolve the difficult demands with a more favourable Sentence; if not, he is degraded like the former. and ſo the next, until one is found apt to Propheſie according to what may beſt agree with the intereſt of his Maſter. This Office was in paſt-times eſteemed more ſacred by the *Ottoman* Princes than at preſent; for no War was undertaken, or great Enterprize ſet on foot, but firſt like the Oracle or *Augur*, his Determination with great Reverence was required as that without which no bleſſing or ſucceſs could be expected; but in theſe days they are more remiſs in this manner of Conſultation; ſometimes it is done for formality; but moſt commonly the Prime Viſier conceited of his own Judgment and Authority, aſſumes the Power to himſelf, and perhaps firſt does the thing, and afterwards demands the Approbation of it by the ſence of the Law.

And herein the *Mufti* hath a ſpacious Field for his Interpretation; for it is agreed that their Law is temporary, and admits of Expoſitions according to times and ſtate of things: And though they Preach to the People the perfection of their *Alchoran*; yet the wiſer men hold, that the *Mufti* hath an expoſitory power of the Law to improve and better it, according to the ſtate of things, times and con-

conveniencies of the Empire; for that their Law was never deſigned to be a clog or confinement to the propagation of Faith, but an advancement thereof, and therefore to be interpreted in the largeſt and fartheſt fetched ſenſe, when the ſtrict words will not reach the deſign intended.

So it was once propounded to the *Mufti*, what rule ſhould be obſerved in the devotion of a *Turk* carried Slave into the Northern parts of the World, where in Winter is but one hour of day, how he might poſſibly comply with his obligation of making prayers five times within the twenty four hours; *viz.* Morning, Noon, Afternoon, Sunſet, and at an hour and half in the Night; when the whole day being but of one hour, admitted of none of theſe diſtinctions; for reſolution of which, the *Mufti* anſwered, that God commanded not things difficult as it is in the *Alchoran*, and that matters ought to be ordered in conformity to time and place, and making ſhort Prayers once before day, then twice in the hour of light, and twice after it is dark, the duty is complied with.

Another queſtion of the ſame nature was propoſed to the *Mufti*, concerning the *Kiblah* or holy place of *Mecha*, to which they are obliged to turn their faces in their Prayers; how at Sea where they had no mark, eſpecially ſuch bad Geographers as commonly the *Turks* are, it is poſſible to comply with that neceſſary formality required in their devotion; the *Mufti* reſolved this doubt almoſt like the former, preſcribing a kind of circular motion in prayers, by which means they cannot miſs of having at ſome time their faces towards the holy City, which in a caſe of ſo much difficulty is a ſufficient compliance with the duty.

Many caſes of this nature are propoſed to the *Mufti*; and many particular rules of Conſcience required,

quired, one of which is remarkable, that *Busbequius* relates, that occurred in his time during the Wars between the Emperor of *Germany*, and *Sultan Solyman*: Whether a few Chriſtians taken Captives by the Grand Signior, might be exchanged with many *Turks* in the hand of the Emperor. It ſeems the *Mufti* was greatly perplexed and puzzled in the reſolution; for ſometimes it ſeemed a diſeſteem to the value of a *Turk* to be rated under the price of a Chriſtian; on the other ſide, it appeared want of charity and care of the intereſt of the *Moſſelmans* to neglect real terms of advantage on ſuch airy and ſubtle points of formality. In fine, he conſulted his Books, and declared that he found two different Authors of great authority of contradictory opinions in this controverſie; and therefore his Judgment was to incline to that which had moſt of favour and mercy in it. The *Mufti* whilſt qualified with that title, is rarely put to death, but firſt degraded, and then becomes liable to the ſtroke of the Executioner; but in caſes of notorious crimes or conviction of Treaſon, he is put into a Mortar for that intent remaining in the Priſon called the *Seven Towers* at *Conſtantinople*, and therein beaten to death, and brayed to the contuſion of all his bones and fleſh.

The next Office to the *Mufti* is *Kadeleſchere* or Judge of the Militia, otherwiſe Judge Advocate, who hath yet power of determination in any other Law Suits whatſoever; for this priviledge the Soldiery of this Country enjoys, to have power extenſive over allother conditions of people, but to be only ſubject themſelves to the Government of their own Officers; this Office a *Mufti* muſt neceſſarily paſs through, and diſcharge with approbation before he aſcends the top and height of his Preferment.

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The next inferiour degree is a *Mollah*; and theſe are of two ſorts, one of Three hundred Aſpers, and the other of Five hundred Aſpers, ſo called for diſtinction ſake; the firſt ſort are principal Judges in petty Provinces, containing under them the command of *Kadees* of poor and inconſiderable places; the others have their juriſdiction over the whole dominion of a *Beglerbeg*, and have the *Kadees* of ſeveral rich and renowned places under their Government: theſe riſe often to the *Mufti*'s Office, but proceed by ſeveral degrees and ſteps, and muſt firſt gradually command where the Imperial Seats have been, as firſt to be *Mollah* in *Pruſa*, then in *Adrianople*, and laſtly in *Conſtantinople*, at which time he is next to the Office of *Kadeleſchere*, and thence to that of the *Mufti*.

The *Sultan*, when he writes to any of his *Mollahs*, or *Kadees* of the firſt degree, he uſes this following ſtile,

To the moſt perfect judge of the Faithful, the beſt Preſident of Believers in God, the Mine of Vertue and True Knowledge, the Diſtributer of all juſt Sentence to all Humane Creatures, Heir of the Prophetick, and Apoſtolical Doctrines, elected by the ſingular Grace of God for our Governor and Judge, of whoſe Vertues may they ever flouriſh.

Theſe and *Kadees*, which are the lower and ordinary ſort of Judges, are as much to be reckoned in the number of religious men as the *Mufti* himſelf; for as I have ſaid before, the Civil Law of the *Turks* is conceived by them to be derived from their Prophet, and the other Expoſitors of their Law with as much engagement and obligation as theſe which immediately concern the Divine Worſhip: and therefore

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therefore are to be treated and handled together.

The *Emaums* or Parochial Prieſts, muſt be able to read in the *Alchoran*, and be counted men of good fame and moral lives amongſt their Neighbors, before they can be promoted to this Function; and muſt be one of thoſe who have learned at the appointed times of prayer to call the people together on the top of the Steeple, by repeating thoſe words, *Allah ekber, Allah ekber, Eſchedu enla Ilahe ilallah we eſchedu enne Mahammed evveſul: cuah Fleie ala Selah heie ala Felah Allah ekber, allah ekber, la Ilahe ilallah*; that is, God is great, God is great, I profeſs that there is no Deity but God, and confeſs that *Mahomet* is the Prophet of God; in this manner the people of a Pariſh recommending any one to the Prime Viſier, declaring that the former *Emaum* is dead, and the Office vacant, and that this perſon is qualified in all points to the Function, or better and more knowing than the preſent Incumbent; he receives immediate induction and eſtabliſhment in the place; but for better proof or tryal of the truth of the teſtimony that accompanies him, he is enjoined to read in preſence of the Viſier ſome part of the *Alchoran*, which being done, he is diſmiſſed and approved, and takes the Viſiers *Teſchere* or *Mandamus* for the place.

This is all the Ceremony required in making an *Emaum*; for there is no new Character or ſtate of Prieſthood (as they hold) conferred upon them, nor are they a different ſort diſtinguiſhed from the people by holy Orders or Rites, but meerly by the preſent office they manage; when being diſplaced, they are again numbred with the Laity: their Habit is nothing different from others, but only that they wear a larger Turbant like the Lawyers, with ſome little variety in folding it up, and put on a grave

grave and ſerious Countenance. Their Office is to call the People to Prayers, and at due hours to be their Leader in the *Moſque*, and to read and repeat upon *Fridays* certain Sentences or Verſes out of the *Alcboran*; few of them adventure to Preach, unleſs he be well conceited or really well gifted, but leave that office to the *Soigh*, or him that makes Preaching his Profeſſion, who is one commonly that paſſes his time in the Convents, that we ſhall hereafter treat of.

The *Mufti* hath no Juriſdiction over the *Emaums*, as to the good order or government of the Pariſhes, nor is there any Superiority or Hierarchy as to rule amongſt them; every one being Independent and without controul in his own Pariſh, excepting his Subjection in Civil and Criminal Cauſes to the chief Magiſtrates; and conſidering the manner of their Deſignation to the Religious Office, the little difference between the Clergy and the Laity, and the manner of their ſingle Government in Parochial Congregations, may not unaptly ſeem to ſquare with the Independency in *England*, from which Original pattern and example our Sectaries and Phanatick Reformers appear to have drawn their Copy.

The Church-men and Lawyers are greatly in eſteem amongſt them, as is apparent by the Title they uſe towards them in their Writings and Commands, directed to them in this manner; *You that are the glory of the Judges and Sage-men, the profound Mines of Eloquence and Excellence, may your Wiſdom and Ability be augmented.*

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of the Mufti's *Revenue, and from whence it doth ariſe.*

AFter the *Mufti* is elected, there is no Ceremony us'd in his Inveſture than this: he preſents himſelf before the Grand Signior, who Cloaths him with a Veſt of rich Sables of One thouſand Dollars price, and One thouſand more he preſents him with in Gold made up in a Handkerchief, which he delivers with his own Hand, putting it in the fold of his under Garment doubled over his breaſt, and beſtows on him a Salary of Two thouſand Aſpers a day, which is about Five pound Sterling mony; beſides which he hath no certain Revenue, unleſs it be the power of Preferment to ſome Prebendaries or Benefices of certain Royal *Moſques*, which he ſells and diſpoſes of as is beſt to his advantage without the ſcruple of corruption or Simony.

By the ſentences he gives which they call *Fetfas*, he receives not one Aſper benefit; though every *Fetfa* coſts eight Aſpers, yet the Fee thereof goes to his Officers; that is, to his *Muſewedegi*, or he who ſtates the queſtion, is paid five Aſpers; to his *Mumeiz*, or he who Copies or Tranſcribes the queſtion fair, two Aſpers; to him that keeps the Seal, one Aſper.

Other benefits the *Mufti* hath little, excepting only that at his firſt entrance to his office, he is ſaluted by all Embaſſadors and Reſidents for foreign Princes; as alſo the Agents of ſeveral *Paſhaws* reſiding at the Port, none of which come empty-hand-

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ed, but offer their accuſtomed preſents, by which he collects at leaſt Fifty thouſand Dollars.

When any *Mufti* is deprived of his Office without any other motive than the pleaſure of the Grand Signior, he is gratified with an *Arpalick*, which is the diſpoſal of ſome judical Preferment in certain Provinces, and the ſuperintendency of them, from which he gathers a competent Revenue for his maintenance.

And becauſe he is a perſon whoſe advice and counſel is of great Authority with the Grand Signior and Viſier, and that his word and candid report of matters is conſiderable, and his favour in ſentences very eſtimable; he is therefore courted by all the Grandees of the Empire, who know no other way of reconciling and purchaſing the affection of a *Turk*, than by force of Preſents, which have more of power in them, than all other obligations or merits in the World.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Emirs.

WE may here bring in the *Emirs*, otherwiſe called *Eulad Reſul*, into the number of the Religious men, becauſe they are of the Race of *Mahomet*, who for diſtinction ſake, wear about their heads Turbants of a deep Sea green, which is the colours of their Prophet; out of reverence to his eſteemed holy Blood, many priviledges are indulged by the ſecular Authority, that they cannot be vilified, affronted or ſtruck by a *Turk* upon for-

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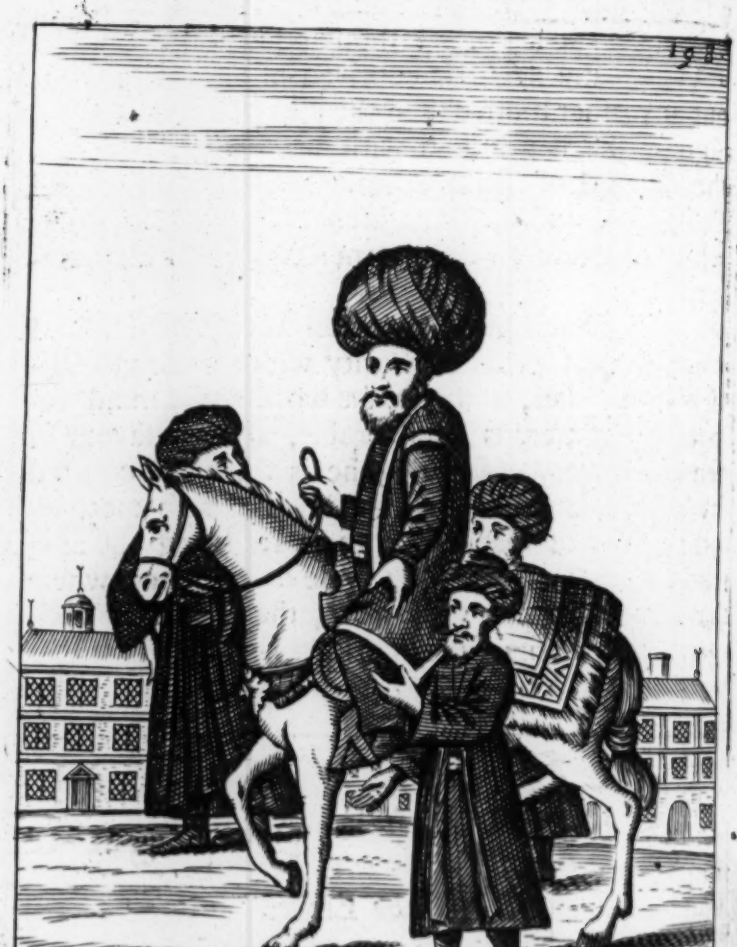
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Emir Bashee or Head of Mahomets Kindred

feiture of his right Hand; but leſt they ſhould be licentious by his impunity, they have a chief Head or Superior amongſt them, called *Nakib Eſchref*, who hath his Serjeants or Officers under him, and is endued with ſo abſolute a power over them, that as he pleaſes it extends both to Life and Death; but he never will give the ſcandal to this holy Seed to execute or puniſh them publickly. And tho few of them can derive his Genealogy clearly from *Mahomet*: yet thoſe who can but only pretend to it, are often helped out in their Pedigree; as often as the *Nakib* deſires to favour any Perſon, or can have any colour to acquire a new Subject; and then to clear all ſcruple from the World, he gives him a Tree of his Lineage and Deſcent. The *Turks* being well acquainted with this abuſe, carry the leſs reſpect to the whole Generation; ſo that as often as they find any of them drunk or diſordered, they make no ſcruple to take off their Green Turbants firſt, Kiſſing them and laying them aſide with all reverence, and afterwards beat them without reſpect or mercy.

Their ſecond Officer is called *Alamdar*, who carries the Green Flag of *Mahomet*, when the Grand Signior appears with any Solemnity in publick; they are capable of any Offices; few of them exerciſe any Trade, unleſs that which is *Eſirgi*, or one who deals in Slaves, to which ſort of Traffick this Sainted Off-ſpring is greatly addicted, as being a holy Profeſſion to captivate and enſlave Chriſtians. Theſe are the moſt abominable *Sodomites* and abuſers of Maſculine youth in the World, in which Sin againſt nature they exceed the foulneſs and deteſtable Luſt of a *Tartar*.



An Emaum or Parish Priest of one of the Royall Moschs.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Endowments of Royal Moſches, *and in what manner Tithes are given for Maintenance of their Prieſts and Religion.*

THe *Turks* are very magnificent in their *Moſches* and Edifices erected to the honour and ſervice of God, and not only in the Buildings, but in the Endowments of them, with a Revenue which records the Memory of the Donor to all Poſterity, and relieves many poor who daily repeat Prayers for the Souls of ſuch who died with a perſwaſion that they have need of them after their deceaſe; for thoſe I ſay who dye of that belief; for the condition of the Soul, until the day of Judgment is controverted amongſt the *Turks*, and the queſtion not decided as a matter of Faith, or as revealed or determined by the *Alchoran*. For ſo large benevolence is given to places deſtined to Gods ſervice, that as ſome compute, one third of the Lands of the whole Empire are allotted and ſet out to a holy uſe; much to the ſhame of thoſe who pretend to the name of Chriſtians, and yet judg the ſmalleſt proportion to be too large a competence for thoſe who ſerve at the Altar.

The principal *Moſchs* and thoſe of richeſt endowment (as in all reaſon ought) are thoſe of Royal Foundations, called in *Turkiſh Selatin Giameleri*; over which the Prime Superintendent is the *Kuzlir Aga*, or the chief Black Eunuch of the *Sultans* Woman: and in his power it is to diſtribute all conſiderable offices of Eccleſiaſtical Preferment re-

lating to the Royal *Moſchs*, which office makes a conſiderable addition to his Power and Revenue: for there are many of thoſe *Moſchs* in divers places of the Empire; but eſpecially where the *Sultans* do or have reſided, as *Pruſa*, *Adrianople*, and *Conſtantinople*.

The Royal *Moſchs* of *Conſtantinople* are *Santa Sophia*; *Sultan Mahomet*, who Conquered this City, *Sultan Bajazet*, *Sultan Selim*, *Sultan Solyman*, *Schezade*, or the Son of *Sultan Solyman*, *Sultan Ahmet*, and three other *Moſchs* built by the Queen-Mothers, one of which was lately erected and richly endowed by the Mother of this preſent *Sultan*.

I ſhall ſcarce adventure to acquaint my Reader with the particular Revenue belonging to all theſe Royal Edifices, but certain it is they have Rents as noble and ſplendid as their Founders; for example of which, I ſhall inſtance only in that of *Santa Sophia*, built by *Juſtinian* the Emperor, and rebuilt by *Theodoſius*, and was the Metropolis of old *Bizantium*, and the Mother-Church belonging to the Patriarchal See of *Greece*, is ſtill conſerved ſacred and ſeparated for uſe of Divine Service; of the Revenue of which, *Mahometan* Barbariſm and Superſtition hath made no Sacrilegious Robbery, but maintained, and improved, and added to it in that manner, that the Income may equal any Religious foundation of Chriſtendom: for when I had the Curioſity of procuring from the Regiſters of that Church diſtinctly all the particular Gifts, Benefices, Lands, Monies at Intereſt, and other Endowments belonging thereunto, and offered according to my ability ſomething conſiderable, to have a true Copy of the Riches and annual Rent of the place; the Keepers of thoſe Liſts would perſwade me (whether out of oſtentation, or ſcruple of ſin to make one of my Faith acquainted with the particulars of their Religious offerings)

ferings) that the Wealth, Rent, and Account of all thoſe Royal Endowments are ſo many, that as they are diſtinctly ſet down, fill a Volume, and the knowledg of them is the ſtudy alone of thoſe who are deſigned to this ſervice; but in general I am given to underſtand, by thoſe who magnifie not matters beyond their due computation, That the Revenue amounts to about One hundred thouſand *Zechins* a year: which proceeds not from any Lands or Duties raiſed without the Walls of the City, but all from within: the *Sultan* himſelf being a Tenant to that place; paying or acknowledging a Rent of One thouſand and one Aſper a day for the ground which the *Seraglio* ſtands on, being in times of the Chriſtian Emperors ſome part of the Sanctuary or Gardens dedicated to the uſe of that ſtately Temple, which the *Turks* eſteemed Sacrilegious to ſeparate entirely from the holy ſervice to which it was aſſigned; though the admirable ſituation thereof rendred it unfit for other habitation, than the enjoyment of the *Sultan*; did therefore think fit to oblige the Land to a Rent, adding the odd Aſper as a ſignification, that the thouſand Aſpers were not a ſufficient conſideration for the uſe of the Church Lands; and might therefore be augmented as the piety and devotion of ſucceeding Emperors ſhould move them.

It is reported by the *Turks*, that *Conſtantinople* was taken upon *Wedneſday*; and that on the *Friday* following (which is their *Sunday* or *Sabbath*, as we call it) the victorious *Sultan*, then firſt entituled Emperor, went with all Magnificent pomp and ſolemnity to pay his thankſgiving and devotions at the Church of *Sancta Sophia*; the Magnificence of which ſo pleaſed him, that he immediately added a yearly Rent of 10000 *Zechins* to the former Endowments, for the maintenance of *Imaums* or Prieſts, Doctors of

lating to the Royal *Moſchs*, which office makes a conſiderable addition to his Power and Revenue: for there are many of thoſe *Moſchs* in divers places of the Empire; but eſpecially where the *Sultans* do or have reſided, as *Pruſa*, *Adrianople*, and *Conſtantinople*.

The Royal *Moſchs* of *Conſtantinople* are *Santa Sophia*; *Sultan Mahomet*, who Conquered this City, *Sultan Bajazet*, *Sultan Selim*, *Sultan Solyman*, *Schezade*, or the Son of *Sultan Solyman*, *Sultan Ahmet*, and three other *Moſchs* built by the Queen-Mothers, one of which was lately erected and richly endowed by the Mother of this preſent *Sultan*.

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their Law, *Taliſmans* and others, who continually attend there for the education of youth, teaching them to read and write, inſtructing them alſo in the principles of their Law and Religion.

Other Emperors have ſince that time erected near unto it their *Turbem* or Chappels of Burial, in one of which lies *Sultan Selim*, ſirnamed *Sarboſe*, or the Drunken, with his one hundred Children, and therewith have conferred a maintenance of Oyl for Lamps and Candles which burn day and night, and a proviſion for thoſe who attend there in prayer for their Souls departed; to which opinion the *Turks* (as I have ſaid already) are generally inclinable, though not preached or enforced on any mans belief as an Article of Faith. Over and above this expence, there is daily proviſion made for relief of a multitude of poor, who at certain hours appear at the Gates of this Temple, and receive their daily ſuſtenance; whatſoever advances, as yearly great Sums are laid up in the Treaſury, is numbred with the Riches of the *Moſch*, and remains for the ſervice of that place, as for the reparation or building thereof, in caſe of Fire or other accidents.

Beſides the ſumptuous Edifices of the body of the Royal *Moſchs*, there are annexed unto them certain Colledges for Students in the Law called *Tehmele*, out-houſes for Kitchins, where the Poors Meat is dreſſed, Hoſpitals called *Timarhanelar*, *Hans*, or Houſes of Lodgings for Strangers or Travellers, publick Fountains, Shops for Artizans, and whole Streets of low Cottages for habitation of the poor, whoſe ſtock reaches not to a higher Rent.

All theſe Appendages bring ſome Revenue to the *Moſch*, which is conſtantly paid in to the Rector or Preſident thereof, called *Mutevelli*; but becauſe this is not a ſufficient maintenance, there are divers Lands,

Lands, Villages, Mountains, Woods, and whole Countries aſſigned to this uſe, called *Wakfi*, which are hired out at certain Rents for the behoof and benefit of the *Moſchs*; ſome Rents being paid in Corn, others in Oyl, and all ſorts of Proviſions; and out of every new Conquered Country, ſome part thereof is aſſigned to the uſe of *Moſchs* of modern Fabrick; as now from the Country gained lately about *Newhauſell* (which as I am informed from thoſe who gave in the account to the Grand Signior, there are 2000 Villages which pay Contribution to the *Turk*) are aſſigned certain Lands for encreaſs of the Rent of the *Moſchs* built at *Conſtantinople* by this preſent Queen-Mother: which Rents are ſometimes raiſed by the way of Tenths or Tithes, not that the *Turk* makes Tithes a duty or rule for the maintenance of perſons, places, and things conſecrated to Divine Service, but as they find it a convenient and equal expedient in ſome Countries for leviation of their Rents. Such Countries and Villages as theſe which are called *Wakfi*, are greatly bleſſed and happy above others, in regard that the Inhabitants enjoy not only particular priviledges & immunities from thence, but freedom likewiſe from oppreſſion of *Paſhaws* and the *Turkiſh* Soldiery in their march, or of great Perſons in their journey or paſſage from one Country to another, who out of reverence to that lot to which they are ſeparated, abſtain from all kind of diſturbance and abuſe towards that people,

Other *Moſchs* of inferiour quality, founded by private perſons and the conſents of *Derviſes* and other Orders, which cannot have their Revenues in Land like the *Moſchs* of Royal Foundation, have their Eſtates in Money bequeathed by Teſtament or by Gift of the Living, which being lent out at eighteen in the hundred *per annum*, produces a conſtant Rent; and though Intereſt for the moſt part is forbidden by

by the *Mahometan* Law, yet for the uſes of *Moſchs* and ſupport of Orphans it is allowed; in all other caſes is *Haram* and abominable. And becauſe the taking up of Money upon Loane is in ſome manner neceſſary and conducing to the better ſubſiſtence and being of Trade, and that men will not lend without a conſideration or benefit, the uſual manner is to borrow Money for a certain time, and in the Writing or Obligation to acknowledg the receipt of as much as the Principal and Intereſt may amount unto, and oftentimes double of the Capital ſum; which being delivered before witneſs in a Bag or in Groſs, the Creditor declaring the ſum to be ſo much therein contained, and the Debtor acknowledging it, the Teſtimony is valid when the Debt comes to be demanded. And thus much ſhall ſerve in brief to have declared concerning the Endowments and Manner of enriching the *Turkiſh Moſchs*, from whence the Conſtitution of others of the like nature may eaſily be collected.

CHAP. VIII.

The Nature of Predeſtination according to the Turkiſh Doctors.

THe Doctrine of the *Turks* in this point ſeems to run exactly according to the Aſſertion of the ſevereſt *Calviniſts*; and in proof hereof their Learned men produce places of Scripture, which ſeem to incline to the ſame Opinion. As, *ſhall the Veſſel ſay to the Potter, Why haſt thou made me thus? I will harden the heart of* Pharoah; Jacob *have*

I loved, and Eſau *have I hated,* and the like. For the *Turks* attribute no ſmall Reverence and Authority to the Old Teſtament, as wrote by Divine Inſpiration; but that the *Alchoran* being of later date, and containing the Will of God more expreſly and perfectly, the former is now abrogated, and gives place unto this.

Some are ſo poſitive in this aſſertion, that they are not afraid to ſay that God is the Author of Evil, without diſtinction or evaſions to acquit the Divine Purity of the foulneſs of ſin according to the Doctrine of the *Manichees.* And all in general concur in this concluſion, That whatſoever proſpers, hath God for the Author; which was the reaſon they deſtroyed not *Bajazet*'s Children during the time of his War againſt his Brother *Selymus,* expecting to receive an undoubted argument of the Will of God therein, from the good or bad fortune of the Father. And from the ſame rule they conclude much of the Divine approbation and truth of their Religion, from their Conqueſts and preſent Proſperity.

They are of opinion, that every mans deſtiny is writ in his forehead, which they call *Naſip,* or *Tactir,* which is the Book writ in Heaven of every mans fortune, and is by no contrary endeavours, counſels or wiſdom to be avoided; which Tenent is ſo firmly radicated in the minds of the vulgar, that it cauſes the Soldiers bruitiſhly to throw away their lives in the deſperate attempts, and to eſteem no more of their bodies, than as dirt or rubbiſh to fill up the Trenches of the Enemy: And to ſpeak the truth, this received aſſertion hath turned as much to account to the *Turks,* as any other their beſt and ſubtleſt Maxims.

According to this Doctrine, none ought to avoid or fear the Infection of the Plague; *Mahomets* precepts being not to abandon the City-houſe where the

the Infection rages, becauſe God hath numbred their days, and predeſtinated their fate; and upon this belief, they as familiarly attend the Beds, and frequent the company of Peſtilential perſons, as we do thoſe that are affected with the Gout, Stone, or Ague. And though they evidently ſee that Chriſtians, who fly into better Airs, and from infected habitations, ſurvive the fury of the years Peſtilence, when whole Cities of them periſh and are depopulated with the Diſeaſe; yet ſo far is this opinion rooted amongſt them, that they ſcruple not to ſtrip the contagious ſhirt from the dead body, and to put it on their own, nor can they remove their abode from the Chambers of the ſick; it being the cuſtom in the families of great Men to lodg many ſervants on different Palats in the ſame room, where the diſeaſed and healthful lie promiſcuouſly together, from whence it hath hapned often, that three parts of a *Paſhaws* Family, which perhaps hath conſiſted of Two hundred men, moſt youthful and luſty, have periſhed in the heat of *July* and *Auguſts* Peſtilence. And in the ſame manner many whole Families every Summer have periſhed, and not one ſurvivor left to claim the inheritance of the houſe; for want of which the Grand Signior hath become the Proprietor.

Though the *Mahometan* Law obliges them not to abandon the City, nor their Houſes, nor avoid the converſation of men infected with the Peſtilence where their buſineſs or calling employs them: yet they are counſelled not to frequent a contagious habitation, where they have no lawful affair to invite them. But yet I have obſerved in the time of an extraordinary Plague, that the *Turks* have not confided ſo much to the precept of their Propher, as to have courage enough to withſtand the dread and terror of that ſlaughter the ſickneſs hath made:

but

but have under other excuſes fled to retired and private Villages, eſpecially the *Cadees* and men of the Law, who being commonly of more refined wits and judgments than the generality, both by reaſon and experience have found that a wholeſome Air is a preſerver of life, and that they have lived to return again to their own houſe in health and ſtrength, when perhaps their next Neighbours have through their bruitiſh ignorance been laid in their Graves, And this is the opinion moſt general and current with the *Turks*, who are called *Jabare*: There is another ſort amongſt them called *Kadere*.

CHAP. IX.

The difference of Sects and diſagreement in Religion amongſt the Turks *in general.*

THere is no conſideration more abſtruſe and full of diſtraction, than the contemplation of the ſtrange variety of Religions in the World: how it is poſſible that from the rational Soul of man, which in all Mankind is of little difference in it ſelf, and from that one principle, which is the adoration of a Deity, ſhould proceed ſuch diverſities of Faiths, ſuch Figments and Ideas of God, that all Ages and Countries have abounded with ſuperſtitions of different natures: And it is ſtrange to conſider, that Nations who have been admirably wiſe, judicious and profound in the Maxims of their Government, ſhould yet in matters of Religion give themſelves over to believe the Tales of an old Woman, a *Pythoneſs*, or the dreams and imaginations of a melancholy

choly *Hermit*. And it is as ſtrange that men who embrace the ſame Principles in Religion, and have the ſame true and infallible Foundation, ſhould yet raiſe ſuch different and diſproportionate Fabricks, that moſt ſhould make their Superſtructure of Straw and Stubble, and but few of a ſubſtantial and durable Building, without uniformity, harmony or agreement each to other. For reſolution of which difficulties, nothing can be ſaid more than *that the God of this World hath blinded the hearts of them that believe not, leſt the light of the glorious Goſpel of Chriſt who is the Image of God, ſhould ſhine unto them.*

2 Cor. 4. 4.

The *Mahometan* Religion is alſo one of the prodigious products of Reaſons Superfœtations, which hath brought forth nothing good, nor rational in this production, more than the Confeſſion of one God. And yet even herein alſo are diverſities of Sects, Opinions, and Orders, which are maintained in oppoſition each to other, with Emulation and Zeal by the Profeſſors, with heats, diſputes and ſeparations, terming the contrary parties prophane and unholy; the particulars of which Sects and diverſity in their Tenents, I ſhall as far as I have ſeen or could learn, ſet down and deſcribe, having with the more curioſity and diligence made the ſtricter Enquiry, becauſe I have not read any Author which hath given a ſatisfactory account of ſuch Sects as are ſprung up amongſt them in theſe latter and modern times.

It is a common opinion, that there are ſeventy two ſects amongſt the *Turks*, but it is probable there are many more, if the matter were exactly known and ſcanned. The *Turkiſh* Doctors fancy that the ſeventy two Nations which they call *(Yetmiſh ekee Melet)* into which the World was divided upon the Confuſion of the Languages of *Babel*, was a Type

Type and a Figure of the diviſions which in after-ages ſhould ſucceed in the three moſt general Religions of the World. In this manner they account ſeventy different Sects among the Jews, ſeventy one amongſt the Chriſtians, and to the *Mahometan* they aſſign one more, as being the laſt and ultimate Religion, in which, as all fulneſs of true Doctrine is completed, ſo the Myſtery of iniquity, and the deviation of mans judgment, by many paths from the right rule, is here terminated and confined.

The *Turks* have amongſt themſelves as well as in other Religious, Sects and Hereſies of dangerous conſequence, which daily encreaſe, mixing together with them many of the Chriſtian Doctrines (which ſhall in their due place be deſcribed) and in former times alſo a ſort of Fanatick *Mahometans* which at firſt met only in Congregations under pretence of Sermons and Religion, appeared afterwards in Troops armed againſt the Government of the Empire.

So one *Scheiches Bedredin* Chief Juſtice of *Muſa*, Brother to *Mahomet* the Fifth King of the *Turks*; after the death of his Maſter, was baniſhed to *Nice* in *Aſia*, where conſulting with his Servant *Burgluzes Muſtapha*, by what means they might raiſe Sedition and a ſecond War; they agreed, the readieſt courſe was by broaching a new Sect and Religion, and by perſwading the people to ſomething contrary to the ancient *Mahometan* ſuperſtition. Whereupon *Burgluzes* masking his Villany under a grave and ſerious countenance, took his journey into *Aydinin*, otherwiſe *Caria*, where he vented Doctrines properly agreeing to the humour of the people, preaching to them Freedom and Liberty of Conſcience and the Myſtery of Revelations, and you may believe he uſed all arts in his perſwaſions, with which Subjects uſed to be allured to a Rebellion againſt

their

their Prince, ſo that in a ſhort time he contracted a great number of Diſciples beyond his expectation. *Bedredin* perceiving his Servant thrive ſo well with his Preaching, fled from his place of Exile at *Nice* into *Valachia*, where withdrawing himſelf into a Foreſt like a devout Religious man, gathered a number of Proſelytes compoſed of Thieves, Robbers, and Out-lawed people; theſe he having inſtructed in the principles of his Religion, ſent abroad like Apoſtles to preach and teach the people that *Bedredin* was appointed by God to be the King of Juſtice, and Commander of the whole World; and that his Doctrine was already embraced in *Aſia*: The people taken with theſe Novelties, repaired in great numbers to *Bedredin*, who conceiving himſelf ſtrong enough to take the Field, iſſued from his deſart with Colours diſplayed, and an Army well appointed; and fighting with his deluded Multitude a bloody Battel againſt thoſe Forces which *Mahomet* ſent to ſuppreſs him under his Son *Amurath*; the deluded Rebels were overthrown, *Bedredin* taken Priſoner, and his pretences of Sanctity and Revelation were not available to ſave him from the Gallows.

And thus we ſee, that the name of Gods cauſe, revelations, liberty, and the like, have been old and common pretences and deluſions of the World, and not only Chriſtians, but *Infidels* and *Mahometans* have wrote the name of God on their Banners, and brought the pretence of Religion in the Field to juſtifie their cauſe.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Of the two prevailing Sects, viz. *Of* Mahomet *and* Hali; *that is*, *the* Turk *and the* Perſian; *the Errors of the* Perſian *recounted and confuted by the* Mufti *of* Conſtantinople.

THe two great Sects among the followers of *Mahomet*, which are moſt violent each againſt other, the mutual hatred of which diverſity of Education and Intereſt of the Princes have augmented, are the *Turks* and *Perſians*: The firſt hold *Mahomet* to have been the chief and ultimate Prophet; the latter prefer *Haly* before him; and tho' he was his Diſciple and ſucceeded him; yet his inſpirations they eſteem greater and more frequent, and his interpretations of the Law moſt perfect and Divine.

The *Turk* alſo accuſes the *Perſian* of corrupting the *Alchoran*, that they have altered words, miſplaced the Comma's and Stops, that many places admit of a doubtful and ambiguous ſenſe; ſo that thoſe *Alchorans* which were upon the Conqueſt of *Babylon* brought thence to *Conſtantinople*, are ſeparated, and compiled in the great *Seraglio*, in a place apart, and forbidden with a Curſe on any that ſhall read them. The *Turks* call the *Perſians*, *Forſaken of God*, *abominable and blaſphemers of the Holy Prophet*; ſo that when *Selymus* the Firſt, made War in *Perſia*, he named his Cauſe, the Cauſe of God, and proclaimed the occaſion and ground of his War to be

the Vindication of the cauſe of the Prophet; and revenge of the blaſphemies the *Perſians* had vented againſt him; and ſo far is this hatred radicated, that the Youth of what Nation ſoever is capable of admittance into the Schools of the *Seraglio*, excepting only the *Perſian*, who are looked upon by the *Turk* as a people ſo far Apoſtatized from the true Belief, and fallen into ſo deſperate an Eſtate by a total corruption of the true Religion, that they judge them altogether beyond hopes or poſſibility of recovery, and therefore neither give them quarter in the Wars, nor account them worthy of life or ſlavery.

Nor are the *Perſians* on the other ſide endued with better nature of good wil to the *Turks*, eſtranging themſelves in the fartheſt manner from their Cuſtoms and Doctrines, rejecting the three great Doctors of the *Mahometan* Law, *viz. Ebbubecher*, *Oſman*, and *Omar*, as Apocryphal and of no Authority; and have a Cuſtom at their Marriages to erect the Images of thoſe three Doctors of Paſte or Sugar at the entrance of the Bridal Chamber, on which the Gueſts firſt caſting their looks, leave the impreſſion of any ſecret Magick which may iſſue from their eyes, to the prejudice or misfortune of the Married Couple; for in the Eaſtern parts of the World they hold that there is a ſtrange faſcination innate to the eyes of ſome people, which looking attentively on any, as commonly they do on the Bridegroom and the Bride in Marriages, produce macerations and imbecillity in the body, and have an eſpecial quality contrary to procreation: and therefore when the Gueſts are entred, having the Malignity of their eyes Arreſted on theſe Statues, they afterwards cut them down and diſſolve them.

And that it may the more plainly appear what points of Religion are moſt controverted amongſt them,

them, and what Anathema's and Curſes are by both ſides vented each againſt the other, this following ſentence paſſed by the *Mufti Eſad Efendi*, upon *Schah Abbas* Tutor to the King of *Perſia*, called *Sari Haliſe*, and all the *Perſians*, will be a ſufficient teſtimony and evidence of the enmity and hatred that is between theſe two Nations; an Extract of which is here drawn from the Book it ſelf, licenſed and approved at *Conſtantinople*.

If you had, ſays he, no other Hereſie than the rejection of thoſe elevated familiars of *Mahomet*, viz. *Omar*, *Oſman*, and *Ebbubecher*, your crime would notwithſtanding be ſo great as were not expiable by a thouſand years of Prayer or Pilgrimage in the ſight of God; but you would be condemned to the bottomleſs Abyſs of Hell, and deprived for ever of Celeſtial Bliſs; and this ſentence of mine is confirmed by the ſame opinion of the four *Imams*, viz. *Imam Azem*, *Imam Schaſi*, *Imam Malick*, and *Imam Hambeli*; and therefore I friendly admoniſh you to correct this errour in your ſelves, and likewiſe in your Scholar King *Abbas*.

Nor are you contented to paſs with this ſingle error, whereby you have gained the name of *Kyzilbaſchi*, that is, *Perſian* Hereticks, but you are become as abominable as the *Durzi* (a people that lives about Mount *Libanus*) of bad eſteem and reputation, corrupted in all points of Doctrine and Manners; ſo that I cannot but paſs this black ſentence upon you, that it is lawful in a Godly Zeal to kill and deſtroy you for the ſervice of God; your Tenents being refuted by *Giafer Efendi*, who hath branded the *Perſians* for *Pagans*, and in ſeventy ſeveral places of the *Alcoran*, and the very words of *Mahomet* demonſtrated the clearneſs of their error.

If the Chriſtian only for ſaying there is a Trinity in God is condemned for Life and Eſtate, why ſhould the *Perſian* expect better quarter, who is ſtigmatized for Hereſie in ſeventy places of the *Alchoran*? And one of your deteſtable opinions of the firſt rank is,

That you eſteem your ſelves obliged to aſſemble at the *Moſchs*, but not to Prayers: for what ſignifies your meeting, if not to Prayers? *Mahomet* himſelf ſays, That he who repairs to the Congregation without a deſign of Prayer, is a Hypocrite and a Diſſembler, is accurſed of God; nor ſhall be bleſſed in his Houſe or Eſtate, the good Angels ſhall abandon him, the Devils ſhall attend him, nor ſhall he ever proſper in this World, or in the World to come.

In anſwer hereunto you ſay, that the ancient Order of Prieſts is extinct, that you have none whoſe pious lives enable to preach and inſtruct you, or to be your leader to holy prayer in the Publick Aſſembly. Do there want pious and holy perſons of the Race of *Mahomet*? if there do not, why do not you imitate and follow them? but you are Enemies, and in open Hoſtility to the *Mahometan* Family, and excuſe your ſelves from the uſe of Prieſts or *Imams*, becauſe their innocence cannot equal that of Infants, In this point (it is true) you have ſomething of reaſon; for your *Imams* are not only Infidels in Doctrine, but defiled in their converſation; and your King is your High Prieſt, frequents Stews, and the Styes of deformed Luſt, raviſhing fair and chaſt Wives from the embraces of their Husbands; and that publickly in the face of the World, maintaining Concubinage with them. And where the example of a Prince makes ſuch things lawful, his Subjects, whether Soldiers or Lawyers, will make no ſcruple to imitate his actions.

You

You deny the Verſe called the *covering in the Alchoran*, to be authentick; you reject the eighteen Verſes, which are revealed to us for the ſake of the holy *Aiſche*.

Chapter ſo called. The Wife of *Mahomet* ſo called.

At the *Abdeſt* or Waſhing, you hold it not lawful to waſh the bare feet, but only lightly ſtroak them over.

Your Muſtachioes or hair on the upper Lip you never cut, but the Beard on the Chin, which is the honeſt Ornament of a mans countenance, you cut and clip into what form you pleaſe.

That holy Colour of Green appropriated to the Banner of *Mahomet*, which ought only to adorn the nobler parts, you in deſpight of the honour of the Prophet, with an irreverent negligence, place it on your Shooes and Breeches.

Wine, which is an abomination to the true obſervers of the Law, you drink freely of, without ſcruple of Conſcience; as alſo in Meats you make no diſtinction between clean and unclean, but uſe all with a like indifferency. In ſhort, ſhould I mention all thoſe ſeventy points, wherein you err, and are without all compariſon corrupt and erroneous, I ſhould ſwell my writing to a Volume, and not attain my end, which is brevity.

Another ſinful cuſtom you permit amongſt you, which is, for many Men to be joyned to one Woman; for to whom of them can be appropriated the Off-ſpring that is born? What book have you, or Law, or example of any Nation to produce in approbation of this vile and unnatural cuſtom? How vile muſt thoſe Children be who are the iſſue of ſuch Parents? that it is no wonder there be none found amongſt you worthy the holy Character of a Prieſt or a Judg.

But you cannot be ſo irrational, as to deny that the Aſſembling in *Moſchs* to prayer, is neceſſary to

Divine Service; *Mahomet* himſelf prayed together with the people, and ſometimes preferred *Ebbecher* to celebrate the Divine Service, following him as others of the people did.

Why do not you ask your Pilgrims who come from *Mecha*, what mean theſe four Altars in the *Moſch*, which are the places of prayer deſigned to the four ſeveral Orthodox Sects? Why take you not example from theſe? but you are ſtill perverſe and obſtinate, haters of God and his Prophet; What will you anſwer at the day of Judgment before *Mahomet* and his four Friends? who long ſince being dead, you revive their Aſhes with ignominy, erecting their Statues at your Marriages in vulgar, and afterwards in contempt hew them down to yield paſtime and occaſion of laughter to the Spouſes and their Gueſts.

Was not the firſt converted to the Faith, *Ebubecher*?

Was not *Omar* the braveſt Champion of the *Mahometan* Religion againſt the Chriſtians?

Was not he who diſpoſed and diſtinguiſhed the Chapters of the *Alcboran*, the chaſt *Oſman*?

Was not the braveſt and moſt Learned bearer of the *Zulfekar*, or the Sword with two points, was it not *Hali*? And were not *Imam Haſſan*, and *Imam Huſein*, Martyrs of the Faith in the Deſerts of *Kerbela*?

Did not *Mahomet* ſay with his own mouth, *O Hali*, for thy ſake there are two ſorts of people predeſtinated to Hell, one that loves thee, and one that loves thee not. Are not you then that wear red Turbants much to be condemned, being of evil life and converſation, and not well inclined to the houſe of the Prophet, nor the family of the faithful, as it is written in the Book called *Aadick*? The Chriſtians conſerve the hooſs of that Aſs on which

which Chriſt rode, and ſet them in Caſes of Gold and Silver; and eſteem it an extream honour to have their Faces, Hands, or Heads, touched with ſo holy a Relique. But you who profeſs your ſelves Diſciples of the Prophet of God, and derived from the blood and family of his Friends, deſpiſe ſo glorious a Title, commanding after the repetition of your Prayers, that is, after the *Ezan*, that Curſes and Blaſphemies be proclaimed againſt theſe holy Friends and Aſſociates of the Prophet.

That is, when the people are called to Prayers from the Steeple.

Beſides this, your Books maintain and avouch it lawful to pillage, burn and deſtroy the Countries of the *Muſſelmans*, to carry their Wives and Families into ſlavery; and from a principle of malice and reproach to carry them naked through your Markets, and expoſe them to ſale to any Chapman; *Pagans* themſelves eſteem not this honeſt nor decent, by which it is apparent that you are the moſt mortal and irreconcilable enemies to us of all the Nations in the World, you are certainly more cruel to us than the *Sezidi*, the *Kiafirs*, the *Zindicks*, then the *Durzians*; and in brief you are the Kennel of all uncleanneſs and ſin; a Chriſtian or a Jew may hope to become true Believers, but you can never.

Wherefore by virtue of that Authority I have received from *Mahomet* himſelf, in conſideration of your miſdeeds and incredulity, I pronounce it lawful for any one of what Nation ſoever, that is of the Believers, to kill, deſtroy, and extirpate you; ſo that as he who ſlays a rebellious Chriſtian, performs a meritorious action in the ſight of God; much rather he who kills a *Perſian*, ſhall obtain a reward ſeventy-fold from the fountain of Juſtice. And I hope that the Majeſty of God in the day of Judgment will condemn you to be the Aſſes of the Jews, to be rode and hacknied in Hell by that deſpiſed

people ; and that in a ſhort time you will be exterminated both by us, the *Tartars*, the *Indians* and *Arabians*, our Brothers and Aſſociates in the ſame Faith.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Ancient Sects and Hereſies among the Turks.

THere are four Sects into which the *Mahometans* of the eſteemed Orthodox belief are divided; and thoſe are theſe.

The firſt is called *Haniffe*, which is profeſſed in *Turkey*, *Tartary*, *Eusbec*, and on the other ſide of *Jehun*, *Bactorus* and *Oxus*.

The ſecond is *Shaffe*, whoſe Cuſtoms and Rules the *Arabians* follow.

The third is *Malechee* , to which *Tripoli*, *Tunis*, *Algier*, and other parts of *Africa* devote themſelves.

The fourth is *Hambelle*, of which are but few, and is known only in ſome parts of *Arabia*.

Theſe four are all accounted Orthodox, and are followers of certain Doctors (as we may ſay amongſt Chriſtians, Scholars of *Auguſtine*, *Thomas Aquinas*, *Dominicus*, or the like) and have only differences as to ceremonies, poſtures in their prayers, waſhings, diverſities in ſome points of their Civil Laws ; and each maintains a charitable opinion of the other, as true Believers, and capable of entring into Paradiſe, if their life and converſation be regulated according to their Profeſſion and Tenents.

All

All *Mahometans* according to the Countries wherein they live, come under the notion of one of theſe four preceding Profeſſions; but yet are nominated with other names and differences of Sects, according as they follow the opinions which ſome ſuperſtitious and Schiſmatical Preachers amongſt them have vented; and thoſe commonly known and marked with the names of ancient Hereſies by the reſpective Opponents, which may properly be called ſo, becauſe they are converſant in their Doctrines concerning the Attributes and Unity of God, his Decrees and Judgments, his Promiſes and Threatnings, and concerning propheſies and gifts of Faith, are eſpecially theſe which ſtand in oppoſition each to other, *viz.*

Moatazali		*Septhatii*
Kadari	To	*Giabari*
Morgii		*Waidi*
Shii		*Chawarigi.*

From each of theſe Sects, as from ſo many roots ariſe ſeveral Branches of different Doctrines, as according to the Tenents of the Turkiſh Doctors complete the number of ſeventy two.

Moatazali ſignifies as much as Separatiſts; the reaſon of which denomination, was from *Alhaſan* the Scholar of *Waſel Ebw Atw*, the Author and Maſter of this Sect, to whom the queſtion being propoſed, *Whether thoſe who had committed a groſs ſin, were to be adjudged condemned, and fallen from the Faith*? the Scholar *Alhaſan* inſtead of expecting the reſolution of his Maſter, withdrew himſelf, and began to interpret his ſenſe thereof to his other Fellow-Diſciples; from which withdrawing of himſelf they were afterwards denominated *Moatazali*, which is Separatiſts. But the name they give themſelves

ſelves is the Defenders of the Equity and Unity of God, in declaration of the manner of which they ſo differ among themſelves, that they are divided into two and twenty Sects, which are maintained with that paſſion on all ſides, that every party accuſes his oppoſites of Infidelity. But the principle in which their wrangling Sophiſters accord in common, is this, *That God is eternal, and that Eternity is an Attribute moſt properly agreeable to his Eſſence*; but yet they reject the attribute it ſelf, ſaying, that God is eternal, wiſe, powerful, and the like, by his own entire and ſingle eſſence; but yet they ſay he is not eternal by his eternity, nor wiſe by his wiſdom, nor powerful by his power, for fear of admitting any multiplicity in the Deity, or incurring the like error as they ſay of the Chriſtians, who divide and diſhonour the Unity of God, by the conceptions they frame of the three perſons in the Trinity. And if the Chriſtians are to be blamed for introducing three Eternals, how much more are thoſe who frame as many Eternals as there are Attributes to the Deity?

Haietti. Another ſort derived from this Sect called *Haietti*, hold that Chriſt aſſumed a true and natural body, and was the Eternal and Incarnate, as the Chriſtians profeſs; and in their *Creed* or Belief have inſerted this Article, *That Chriſt ſhall come to judg the World at the laſt day*, and for proof hereof alledg an Authority out of the *Alchoran* in theſe words. *Thou* Mahomet *ſhalt ſee thy Lord return in the Clouds*: which though they fear expreſly in plain terms to interpret of *Chriſt*, yet they confidently affirm it to be propheſied of the *Meſſiah*, and in diſcourſe confeſs that that *Meſſiah* can be no other than Chriſt; who ſhall return with the ſame humane fleſh again into the World, Reign forty years on Earth, confound Antichriſt, and afterwards ſhall be the end of the World.

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Another ſort of the Profeſſors of the Sect of *Moatzali*, are *Iſi*, whoſe firſt Author was *Iſa Merdad*; theſe maintain that the *Alchoran* was created, contrary to rhe expreſs word of *Mahomet*, who Anathematizes all who are of this perſwaſion, ſaying, let him be reputed an Infidel who believes the *Alchoran* created; for ſolution of which difficulty, and to concur with the words of their Prophet, they ſay, that the *Alchoran* delivered by *Mahomet*, was but a Copy tranſcribed out of that wrote by God and laid in the Library of Heaven, and that when their Prophet denies the Creation of the *Alchoran*, he hath no reference to the Original, but to his own hand-writing which he had Copied, and extracted from the firſt, and infallible exemplar. *Iſi.*

Theſe alſo farther proceed to deny againſt the common Tenent of the *Mahometans*, the incomparable and Matchleſs Eloquence of the *Alchoran*; aſſerting that were it not prohibited, other *Arabians* might be found, who could far tranſcend every line of it in Wiſdom and Rhetorick; which in my opinion is a ſtrange kind of Impudence in the very face of their Prophet, who ſeems to be too proud of the exact diſpoſition, and full ſignification of every word, that he judges it not leſs charming for the ſweet ſound of its Eloquence, than it is convincing for the purity and truth of its Doctrine.

The great Antagoniſts to the *Moatazali*, are the *Sephati*, who Aſſign in God Eternal Attributes of Knowledg, Power, Life, *&c.* And ſome of them proceed ſo far, and groſly herein, that they frame conceptions of corporeal Organs of Senſe, as of Hearing, Seeing, and Speech, to be in God; affirming that thoſe expreſſions of Gods ſitting in his Throne, Creation of the World by the work of his Hands, his Anger againſt Sin, Repentance for *Sephati.*

mans

mans Converſion, which we call ἀνθρωποπάθεια, are to be taken in the literal and plain ſence, and have no need of farther fetched interpretations to clear the true notion of them: But yet herein their *Doctors* ſeem not to agree, ſome defining a body to be the ſame as, *per ſe ſubſiſtens*, denying it to be an eſſential propriety of a body to be circumſcribed and finite; others conclude that it is enough to ſay that God is great, without argument of his circumſcription, or determination to any particular place, with many other ſtrange conceits, whereby are made apparent the roving Fancies of Ignorant Men, without the Rules or Grounds of *Philoſophy* or *Metaphyſicks*. But the ſoberer ſort amongſt them, who would appear more moderate and wiſer than the reſt, forbid their Scholars to make Compariſon of the Senſes in God, with thoſe of the Creature, who being more ſubtly urged by their ſevere opponents the *Moatazali*, they were forced to declare themſelves more plainly, in this manner, That the God which they worſhipped was a Figure, Viſible, and an Object of the Sight, conſiſting of parts Spiritual and Corporeal, to whom local Motion might be agreeable, but that his Fleſh and Blood, his Eyes and Ears, his Tongue and Hands were not of any ſimilitude with created ſubſtances, but were of another Craſis and Mixture which ſubjected them to no Diſtemper or Corruption; in proof whereof, they alledg the words of *Mahomet*, *That God created Man after his own Likeneſs*: And all other of thoſe Examples drawn from the Holy Scriptures with which the *Alchoran* is filled, and where in familiar expreſſions, the Divinity is pleaſed to condeſcend to the infirmity of Humane Capacity.

Kadari. The next Sect is that of the *Kadari*, who deny wholly the Divine Decree or Predeſtination, affirming that every man is a free Agent, from whoſe will

will as from the firſt principle all good and bad actions flow and are derived; ſo that as with juſt reaſon God crowns mans good Works with the Rewards of Bliſs and Felicity; ſo on the other juſtly puniſhes his evil Actions in this World, and in the next to come; and this they ſtyle the Doctrine of Equity, and define it to be a meaſure of mans actions, according to the rectitude and diſpoſition of that right line, which the prime Intellect hath drawn out by wiſdoms proportions. This opinion is abſolutely rejected as heterodox in the *Mahometan* Religion; and yet it is not fully determined how *Mahomet* moderated in the diſpute between *Adam* and *Moſes*, whom an *Arabian* Doctor comically introduced, pleading and juſtifying themſelves before God. *Moſes* beginning firſt, reproached *Adam*, that he was one immediately created by the proper hand of God, in whom the Divine Nature breathed the Breath of Life, whom Angels were made to adore, placed and ſeated in Paradiſe, and fortified with actual graces againſt the enormities and crooked irregularities of inferiour affections; from which happy ſtate that he ſhould fall and precipitate Mankind, together with himſelf, his crime was aggravated with all the degrees of his former perfection. *Adam* to excuſe himſelf, replied in this manner. Thou *Moſes* whom God hath called to a familiar parley, revealed his Will and Pleaſure unto in thoſe engraven Tables, where all Morality and Vertue is contained, reſolve me this one Quære and difficult Problem, How many years before I was created, doſt thou find that the Law was wrote? *Moſes* anſwered, Forty. And did you find, reply'd *Adam*, that *Adam* rebelled againſt his Lord and ſinned? to which *Moſes* anſwering in the affirmative. Do you blame me then, ſaid he, for executing that which God forty years before predeſtinated

Ebnol Athir, Mr. *Pocock de Moribus Arabum.*

destinated and designed me unto? and not only forty years, but many Myriads of Ages before either the Heavens or Earth were framed. *Mahomet* confounded, as the *Kadari* report with this Argument, left the question undetermined, tho his followers, as Men are most prone to error generally, entertain the contrary Tenent.

Jabari. The great Enemies diametrically opposed to these are the *Jabari* or *Giabari*; who maintain that a man hath no power over his Will or Actions, but is wholly moved by a Superiour Agent, and that God hath a power over his Creatures, to design them to Happiness or to Misery, as seems best to his Divine pleasure; but in the explication of this opinion they proceed in the most rigorous manner, and say that man is wholly necessitated and compelled in all his actions; that neither his Will, nor Power, nor Election is in himself; and that God creates in him his actions, as he doth in Inanimate and Vegetable creatures the first principle of their Life and Essence; and as the Tree may be said to produce Fruit, the Water to run, the Stone to move downwards, so are the Actions in Man, for which yet there is a reward and a punishment properly and necessarily allotted. This point is very subtily controverted by the *Arabian* Doctors, to which how the *Turks* are addicted, we shall farther discourse in the Chapter of Predestination.

Morgi: The Sect of *Morgi*, are the great Favourers and Patrons of the *Mahometan* Religion, maintaining that a *Musselman* or Believer, though guilty of the grossest sins, is not punished for them in this World, nor receives his absolution or condemnation after death, until the day of Resurrection and Judgment: and farther, that as impiety with the true belief shall never be punished; so Piety and good Works proceeding from a false and erroneous Faith,

Faith is of no validity or power conducing to the fruition of the joys of Paradiſe. And to theſe may not improperly be compared ſome Sectaries in *England*, who have vented in their Pulpits that God ſees no ſin in his Children; and that the infidelity of *Sarah*, being of the houſe of the faithful, is more acceptable to God, than the Alms, Prayers, and Repentance of an erroneous Believer, without the Pale and Covenant of grace.

The oppoſite Sect to theſe are the *Waidi*, who eſteem that a man fallen into any great or mortal ſin, is put into the condition of a deſerter of his Faith; and though he be a profeſſor of the true Belief, ſhall yet without recovery for ever be puniſhed in Hell; but yet that his torments ſhall be in a more remiſs degree than that of Infidels: But that opinion which in this point is eſteemed Orthodox amongſt the *Turks*, is this, That a ſinner in a high nature going out of this world without repentance, is wholly to be committed to the pleaſure of God, either to pardon him for his mercy, or for the interceſſion of the Prophet *Mahomet*, according to what he ſaith in the *Alchoran*, *My interceſſion ſhall be for thoſe of my own People who have greatly ſinned*; that being firſt puniſhed according to the meaſure of their iniquity, they may afterwards in compaſſion be recieved into Paradiſe; for it is impoſſible they ſhould for ever remain in the eternal flames with the Infidels; becauſe it is revealed to us, that whoſoever hath but the weight of an Atom remaining in his heart of Faith, ſhall in due time be releaſed from fiery torments; for which cauſe ſome ſects amongſt the *Turks* uſe Prayers for the dead, and place their Cemiteries always by the ſide of Highways, that Paſſengers may be remembred of their own Mortality, and pray for the Souls of thoſe departed; of which we ſhall have occaſion to diſ-

Waidi.

Chap.

courſe

courſe hereafter. The fictions the *Mahometans* frame of Hell, are as ridiculous as thoſe they fancy of Paradiſe; For they imagine when they ſhall be called by *Mahomet* from this Purgatory at the day of Judgment, the way to him is over Iron Bars red hot with Fire, over which they muſt paſs with naked Feet; only the Paper which they in their life time have taken from the ground and conſerved from being trampled on by the Feet of Men or Beaſts, ſhall at that day be ſtrowed on the Bars of this hot paſſage, that they may paſs that fire Ordeal with leſs torment; which is the reaſon the *Turks* ſee no ſmall piece of Paper on the ground, but they immediately ſtoop for it; and place it in ſome ſecret corner of a Wall, to redeem that (as they ſay) from the diſhonour of mens feet, on which the name of God is or may be wrote, and with expectation to enjoy the benefit promiſed, when the ſoles of their feet ſhall try the intenſe heat of this burning Iron. The ſame reſpect alſo they ſhew to Roſe-leaves, in conſideration (as they believe) that a Roſe was produced from the ſweat of *Mahomet*.

The *Shii* are the Sect ſpoken of before, oppoſed by the Subjects of the whole *Ottoman* Empire, as the moſt heretical of any of the reſt, in regard they prefer *Ali* before *Mahomet* in the Prophetical Office, and reſtrain the Prophetick gift to the natural line derived from *Ali*, and that none is worthy of the Title of a Prophet, who is guilty of ſin, though of the lower nature; ſome of which Profeſſors called *Alnoſairi*, affirm that God appeared in the form of *Ali*, and with his Tongue proclaimed the moſt hidden Myſteries of Religion; and ſome have proceeded yet farther, to attribute to their Prophets divine honours, aſſerting them to be elevated above degree and ſtate of the Creatures: theſe expect the return of their Prophet *Ali* in the Clouds, and have

placed

placed that belief as an Article of their Faith, from whence may ſeem to be grounded that miſtake amongſt our vulgar, that the *Turks* believe *Mahomet* ſhall again return into the World.

To the foregoing are oppoſed the *Chawarigi*, who deny that there is or hath been any ſuch Function as that of a Prophet, allowed by God in any particular perſon; nor any ever ſent into the World endued with that power of Infallibility, to reſolve doubts, and teach and impoſe a new Law on Mankind; but if at any time ſuch an Office ſhould be neceſſary, it can never be reſtrained to one Lineage: for the perſon being faithful and juſt, no matter whether he be a Servant or Free, a ∴ *Nabathean* or a ‡ *Koraſchite*.

Chawarigi.

∴ One of vulgar or rude ſort amongſt the *Arabians.*

‡ One of a noble family amongſt the *Arabians.*

Theſe are ancient Sects amongſt the profeſſors of the *Mahometan* Religion, out of which aroſe ſo many others as by the confeſſion of the *Turkiſh* Doctors compleat the number of ſeventy three. But becauſe the accurate ſearch into ſo many is of little delight or profit to the Reader, I ſhall content my ſelf with having given him a taſte of theſe foregoing premiſes; and ſhall now give an account how buſie theſe modern times have been at *Conſtantinople* in hammering out ſtrange forms and chimera's of Religion, the better to acquit *England* from the accuſation of being the moſt ſubject to religious innovations, the World attributing much thereof to the air and conſtitution of its Climate.

CHAP. XII.

Concerning the New and Modern Sects amongst the Turks.

ALL Ages and times have produced their Sects and Hereſies in every Religion; and therefore we ſhall proceed in declaring ſome few that are of a freſher date than thoſe in the foregoing Chapter, and ſo ſhall continue to deſcend to others which this preſent Age hath begot.

That called *Zeidi*, is one of the latter edition.

Zeidi maintains that God will ſend a Prophet of the *Perſians* with a Law by which ſhall be annulled the Law of *Mahomet*.

Derived from the *Moatazeli*

A ſecond to this is derived from the *Moatazeli*, that denies any man can be ſtiled a Saint in this World, excepting the Prophets, who were without ſin; and that the true Believers ſhall in the next World ſee God as clearly as we ſee the Moon at full; againſt the Doctrine of *Mahomet*, who ſays God is inviſible either to us in this world, or the next.

Malumigee.

There are alſo thoſe called *Malumigee*, who maintain God is perfectly to be known in this World: and that by the Doctrine of *Cognoſce teipſum*, the Creature proceeds to the perfect knowledg of his Creator.

Mezzachulia.

The Opponents to theſe are *Mezzachulia*, who hold, that they which know God only in this World by ſome glimmerings and rays of his Glory and Eſſence, is ſufficient to lead them into Paradiſe, and rank them in the number of the faithful.

Jabaiah.

Another ſort there are called *Jabaiah*, which denies



The Prior over a Convent of Dervises



The Habit of Dervises

nies Gods Omniſcience, affirming, That God governs the World by Chance and Accidents, not comprehending from Eternity or at the Creation of the World, a perfect certainty of the particular Affairs that were to be tranſacted in it, and that God improves in knowledge by time, as men do by conſtant practice and experience.

We ſhall not inſiſt here to multiply many of theſe Sects, who have almoſt as many diverſities amongſt the *Turks*, as there are Schools and Maſters; every *Hogia* that is but a Form above a meer Pedagogue, and reads a few Books of the *Arabian* Fables, eſteems himſelf of mean account, if by ſome ſingular opinion which he inſtils into his Diſciple, he diſtinguiſhes not his Gymnaſion from the common and inferiour Schools. But theſe men in framing their particular fancies, and venting their follies, have a ſpecial care that none of their principles oppugn thoſe five points of practice, and one of faith, mentioned in the firſt Chapter of this Book, which are the eſſential points that conſtitute a *Mahometan*; or derogate from the Authority of their Governours, or produce factions or diſturbances in the State.

But theſe modern times have produced other Sects amongſt the *Turks*, ſome of which ſeem in part dangerous, and apt to make a conſiderable rupture in their long continued union; when time changes, and revolutions of State ſhall animate ſome turbulent ſpirits, to gather Soldiers and Followers under theſe Doctrines and other ſpecious pretences.

One of which is called *Kadezadeli*, a Sect ſprung up in the time of *Sultan Morat*, whoſe chief Propagator was one *Burgali Effendi*, who invented many Ceremonies in praying for the Souls departed, at the burial of the dead. Thoſe that are of this *Kadezadeli.*

Sect cauſe their *Imaum* to cry loud in the ears of the inanimate body, to remember that God is one, and his Prophet one. Thoſe who are principally devoted to this Sect, are the *Ruſſians* and other ſort of Renegado Chriſtians, who amongſt their confuſed, and almoſt forgotten notions of the Chriſtian Religion, retain a certain Memory of the particulars of Purgatory, and Prayers for the Dead.

But the opinion eſteemed Orthodox, and moſt generally allowed amongſt the *Turks*, is, That no *Mahometan* goes eternally to Hell, but after a certain ſpace of years is delivered thence, and paſſes into Paradiſe; After death they aſſign two ſorts of puniſhments; the firſt is called *Azabe Kaberi*, or the puniſhment of the Grave, which being the bed of wicked men, binds with its Earth ſo faſt as it cruſhes their bones, and ſhuts the pores and creviſes through which they ſhould ſee into Heaven; but the bodies of good men enjoy the comfort of having a window from their dark incloſures, to behold the Viſion of Gods glory. The other is the pain of Hell, where the ſouls remain until their torments are accompliſhed, and Divine Juſtice ſatisfied.

There is an opinion of late years principally maintained amongſt the Gallants of the *Seraglio*, and common in *Conſtantinople*, the profeſſors of which are called *Chupmeſſahi*, or the good followers of the *Meſſiah*; theſe maintain that Chriſt is God and Redeemer of the World; the young Scholars in the Grand Signiors Court are generally devoted to this Tenent, eſpecially thoſe which are the moſt courteous, affable, and beſt diſpoſed; that it is grown into a Proverb amongſt them, when they would commend and praiſe gentleneſs and courteſie of each others nature, they do it with the expreſſion of *Chupmeſſahiſen*, as if they would ſay, You are gentle, accompliſhed and exceſſive in your favours,

Chupmeſſahi.

as

as becomes one who profeſſes the *Meſſiah*. Of this ſort of people there are great numbers in *Conſtantinople*, ſome of which have ſo boldly aſſerted this Doctrine, that they have ſuffered Martyrdom under this denomination, which is ſtill maintained, and ſecretly profeſſed by ſuch multitudes as wear white Turbants, that upon ſome notable opportunity were this Cauſe and Religion made the ground of ſome Toleration and Inſurrection amongſt its Diſciple and Profeſſors, it might take an unexpected footing, and prepare a ready way for the Plantation of the Goſpel: but of this we ſhall ſpeak more hereafter in its due place.

And becauſe it is our intent here to declare the ſeveral Religions amongſt the *Turks*, it will not be from our purpoſe to mention how far Atheiſm hath ſpread it ſelf in theſe Countries; and as Logicians illucidate one contrary with another, and Painters ſet off the Whiteneſs of their Colours with a foil of Jet, or other Blackneſs; ſo the privation of all Religion is not unaptly placed in the ſame Chapter with the various and different profeſſors of it.

Theſe then give themſelves the Title of *Muſerin*, *Muſerin.* which ſignifies, The true ſecret is with us; which ſecret is no other than the abſolute denial of a Deity, that nature or the intrinſecal principle in every individual thing directs the orderly courſe which we ſee and admire; and that the Heavens, Sun Moon and Stars have thence their original and motion, and that man himſelf riſes and fades like the graſs or flower: It is ſtrange to conſider, what quantities there are of men that maintain this principle in *Conſtantinople*, moſt of which are *Kadies* and learned men in the *Arabian* Legends, and others are Renegadoes from the Chriſtian Faith, who conſcious of the ſin of their Apoſtacy, and therefore deſirous

that all things may conclude with this World, are the more apt to entertain thoſe opinions which come neareſt to their wiſhes. One of this Sect called *Mahomet Effendi*, a rich man, Educated in the knowledge of the Eaſtern Learning, I remember, was in my time executed for impudently proclaiming his blaſphemies againſt the being of a Deity; making it in his ordinary diſcourſe, an argument againſt the being of a God, for that either there was none at all, or elſe not ſo wiſe as the Doctors preached he was, in ſuffering him to live who was the greateſt enemy and ſcorner of a Divine Eſſence that ever came into the World. And it is obſervable, that this man might, notwithſtanding his accuſation, have ſaved his life, would he but have confeſſed his error, and promiſed for the future an aſſent to the principles of a better: but he perſiſted ſtill in his blaſphemies, ſaying, That though there were no reward, yet the love of truth obliged him to dye a Martyr. I muſt confeſs until now, I never could believe that there was a formal Atheiſm in the World, concluding that the principle (of the being of a God) was demonſtrable by the Light of Nature; but it is evident now how far ſome men have extinguiſhed this light and lamp in their Souls.

This poiſonous Doctrine is ſo Infectious, that it is crept into the Chambers of the *Seraglio*, into the Apartments of the Ladies and Eunuchs, and found entertainment with the *Paſhaes* and their whole Court; this ſort of people are great favourers and lovers of their own Sect, courteous and hoſpitable to each other; and if any by chance receives a Gueſt within his Gates of their own judgment, beſides his Diet and Fare with much freedom, he is accommodated with a handſom Bedfellow of which Sex he moſt delights: they are very frank and libe-

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ral, and exceſſive in their readineſs to do each other ſervice; It is ſaid, that *Sultan Morat* was a great favourer of this opinion in his Court and Militia, deſirous withal to propagate that of *Kadizadeli* amongſt the vulgar, that they being a ſevere, moroſe and covetous people, might grow rich, and ſpare for the benefit of his Exchequer; for the Sect of *Kadizadeli* before-mentioned, is of a melancholy and Stoical temper, admitting of no Muſick, chearful or light diſcourſes, but confine themſelves to a ſet Gravity; in publick as well as private they make a continual mention of God, by a never-wearied repetition of theſe words, *Ilahe ila Ellah*; that is, I profeſs there is one God: there are ſome of theſe that will ſit whole nights bending their bodies towards the Earth, reciting thoſe words with a moſt doleful and lamentable Note: they are exact and moſt punctual in the obſervation of the rules of Religion, and generally addict themſelves to the ſtudy of their Civil Law, in which they uſe conſtant exerciſes in arguing, oppoſing and anſwering, whereby to leave no point undiſcovered or not diſcuſſed. In ſhort, they are highly Phariſaical in all their comportment, great admirers of themſelves, and ſcorners of others that conform not to their Tenents, ſcarce affording them a ſalutation or common communication; they refuſe to marry their Sons with thoſe of a different Rite, but amongſt themſelves they obſerve a certain Policy; they admoniſh and correct the diſorderly, and ſuch who are not bettered by their perſwaſions, they reject and excommunicate from their Society. Theſe are for the moſt part Tradeſmen, whoſe ſedentary life affords opportunity and nutriment to a melancholy, and diſtempered fancy.

But thoſe of this Sect who ſtrangely mix Chriſtianity and *Mahometaniſm* together, are many of

the Soldiers that live on the confines of *Hungary* and *Boſna*; reading the Goſpel in the *Sclavonian* Tongue, with which they are ſupplied out of *Moravia*, and the neighbouring City of *Raguſa*; beſides which, they are curious to learn the Myſteries of the *Alchoran*, and the Law of the *Arabick* Tongue; and not to be accounted rude and illiterate, they affect the Courtly *Perſian*. They drink Wine in the month of Faſt called the *Ramazan*; but to take off the ſcandal they refuſe Cinamon or other Spices in it, and then call it *Hardali*, and paſſes currant for lawful Liquor. They have a Charity and Affection for Chriſtians, and are ready to protect them from injuries and violences of the *Turks*: They believe yet that *Mahomet* was the Holy Ghoſt promiſed by Chriſt; and that the deſcending of the Holy Spirit on the day of *Pentecoſt*, was a Figure and Type of *Mahomet*, interpreting in all places the word παράκλητος, to ſignifie their Prophet, in whoſe Ear the white Dove revealed the Infallible directions to happineſs: The *Potures* of *Boſna* are all of this Sect, but pay Taxes as Chriſtians do; they abhor Images and the Sign of the Croſs; they circumciſe, bringing the Authority of Chriſts example for it, which alſo the *Copticks*, a Sect of the *Greek* Church imitated; but have now, as I am informed, lately diſuſed that cuſtom.

Potures a people of *Boſna*.

Another ſubtle point about the Divine Attributes hath begot a Sect amongſt the *Janizaries*, called *Bektaſchi*, from one *Bektaſh*, which ſeems an improper ſubject ſo deep in the Metaphyſical ſpeculation to trouble ſuch groſs heads as theirs; they began (as it is ſaid) in the time of *Solyman* the Magnificent, and are called by ſome *Zerati*; that is, thoſe who have Copulation with their own Kindred, and by the vulgar *Mumſconduren*, or extinguiſhers of the Candle.

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This Sect obſerve the Law of *Mahomet* in Divine Worſhip, with a ſtrictneſs and ſuperſtition above any of the Preciſians of that Religion: but hold it unlawful to adjoyn any Attributes to God, by ſaying that God is great, or God is merciful, by reaſon that the nature of God being infinite and incomprehenſible, cannot fall under the weak and imperfect conceptions of mans underſtanding, which can imagine nothing applicable to his Nature. Of this Sect there was a famous Poet amongſt the *Turks*, called *Nemiſi*, that was fleed alive, for ſaying, when the *Emaum* called the People to Prayers, at the ordinary hours from the Steeple with the uſual word, *Allah Ekber*, God is one, That he lied, upon the ſuppoſition that no Epithete can be predicated of the Divine Eſſence. Amongſt the *Janizaries* are at preſent many principal Commanders of this Sect; but formerly were more in the time of *Becktaſh*, *Aga*, *Kul Kahya*, *Mahomet Aga*, and others, who for their Rebellion in *Conſtantinople* (as we related before) were put to death under the Hiſtorical Pillar in the time of this preſent Emperors minority. Theſe people againſt the inſtinct of nature uſe Carnal Copulation promiſcuouſly with their own Kindred, the Fathers mixing with their Sons and Daughters, without reſpect to proximity of blood or nearneſs in the degrees of relation, ſuffering themſelves to be tranſported contrary to the abhorrency of Nature, by a weak and illogical compariſon of the lawfulneſs and reaſon, that he who engrafted the Tree, and planted the Vine, ſhould rather taſte of the Fruit, than reſign the benefit of his labours to the enjoyment of others; and in this Argument act againſt the inclination of innate modeſty, according to that of *Seneca*,

Feræ

Feræ quoque ipſæ Veneris evitant nefas,
Generiſque leges inſcius ſervat pudor.

Theſe people are eaſily induced to give falſe witneſs or teſtimony in the favour of their Sect, without conſideration of Equity or reaſonableneſs of their cauſe; by which means invading the right of others, they became rich and powerful, until they were debaſed by the deprivation of *Becktaſhes* Authority, and Power of other potent favourers of their Sect: and though afterwards upheld by *Sudgi Beker*, a Standard-Bearer of the *Janizaries*, a rich and learned man, they received a ſecond blow by his death, he executed by a Viſier *Kupriuli Mahomet*, for his diverſity in Religion and Wealth together; but farther animoſity againſt this Sect was diſſembled at that time, by reaſon of the multitude of thoſe profeſſors in *Conſtantinople*, and becauſe reaſon of State ſaw it at that time neceſſary to draw blood in many parts of the Empire for other cauſes than for Errors in Religion.

The Sect called *Sabin*, though *Mahometans* in profeſſion, ſeem yet to run contrary to the ſtream and general conſent of all its profeſſors, who give themſelves commonly the Title of Enemies and Confounders of Idolatry, and yet theſe notwithſtanding ſeem from the influence the Sun and Moon have on ſublunary bodies, of all living ſenſitive Creatures to conclude a certain Divinity in thoſe common Lights of the World. In *Conſtantinople* there are ſome few Aſtrologers and Phyſitians of this Sect, but in *Parthia* and *Media* they are numerous, the Men commonly worſhipping the Sun, and the Women the Moon, and others the Artick Pole; they are not ſtrict in a ſeverity of life, or in the conformity to the preſcriptions of their Law, but go-

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vern themſelves with morality and prudence. They are not apt to believe the immortality of the Soul, nor the reward of Vertue, or puniſhment of Vice in the next World; nor prone to vindicate themſelves from injuries, reproachful langnage, or other evil actions of men, but regarding them as the natural effects of the Celeſtial influences, are no more provoked by them than we are with a ſhower of Rain for wetting us. or the intenſe heat of the Sun in the Summer Solſtice.

Munaſibi, is a Sect purely Pythagorical, which believes the Metempſychoſis of Tranſmigration of Souls, of which there are ſome in *Conſtantinople*, one *Albertus Bobovius* a *Polonion* by Nation, but Educated in the *Seraglio*, and inſtructed in all the Learning of the *Turkiſh* Literature (from whom I freely confeſs to have received many of my obſervations) related to me a pleaſant diſcourſe that paſſed between him and a Dorgiſt at *Conſtantinople*, touching this ſubject. This Dorgiſt being Learned, was the occaſion that *Albertus* frequented his Shop the oftner; and once being after ſome familiar acquaintance at a Collation together, it chanced that a black Dog giving them interruption at their Banquet, that *Albertus* kicked him to drive him to a farther diſtance; at which the Dorgiſt growing pale and diſordered, *Albertus* gueſſed by his countenance that he was diſpleaſed at this unkindneſs towards the Dog; and therefore deſired his pardon if thereby he had given him any ſubject of offence: the Dorgiſt being thus pacified with the courteſie of his Gueſt, adviſed him to ask pardon of God, for that it was no ſmall crime and ſin that he thereby committed. This happening at the ſame time that the Funerals of a *Mufti* called *Bebai Efend*, were then ſolemnizing, afforded an occaſion of diſcourſe concerning the Soul of the *Mufti* and Dog together;

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the Dorgiſt demanding the opinion of his Gueſt, whether he conceived the Soul of that *Mufti* was predeſtinated to remain within the Confines of the Grave, until the day of Reſurrection? in the knowledg of which queſtion *Albertus* ſeeming wholly ignorant, and deſirous to underſtand the ſolution from him: the Dorgiſt began freely to declare that the Souls of men deceaſed enter into the Bodies of Beaſts, which are in temperament moſt agreeable to the diſpoſitions of thoſe whom before they animated: as the Soul of the Glutton enters into the Swine, the Soul of the Laſcivious into the Goat, of the Generous into the Horſe, of the Vigilant into a Dog, and ſo the like; in proof of which he produced a Book treating of all the diſtinctions of Nature, and the proper aſſignments for their habitation after death: Adding moreover, that of this opinion it was pity there were ſo few in *Conſtantinople*, ſome there were, and thoſe all of his own Trade and Profeſſion, but that at *Grand Cairo* were great numbers, ſtrict adherers to this Doctrine: that for his part he prayed to God with the reſt of his Brothers of the ſame Trade, that their Souls may hereafter be ſo honoured as to inform the body of the *Camel*, becauſe they are Beaſts that are laborious, abſtemious, patient and meek, and bring their Dorges from the remoteſt part of the Eaſt: and that he did not doubt but after the Circle of 3365 years, that his Soul had travelled for ſeveral Ages through the World, and wandred from the body of one *Camel* to animate another, it ſhould with the viciſſitude of time return again to a humane body, more purified and refined than in its firſt Principles. And this was the *Credo* of the Dorgiſt, to which opinion it is ſaid all *China* is greatly devoted.

Eſchraki, which ſignifies illuminated, is a Sect purely

purely Platonical, contemplative of the Divine *Idea*, and the number in God; for though they hold the Unity, yet they deny not the Trinity, as a number proceeding from the Unity; which conception of theirs they uſually illuſtrate by three folds in a Handkerchief, which may have the denomination of three; but being extended, is but one entire piece of Linnen. Theſe men are no great admirers of the compoſition of the *Alchoran*; what they meet therein agreeable to their principles, they embrace and produce as occaſion ſerves in confirmation of their Doctrine; other parts which with difficulty are reconciled they reject, and ſtile abrogated: and becauſe they apprehend that the true beatitude and bliſs of Paradiſe conſiſts in the contemplation of the Divine Majeſty, they contemn all the fancies and groſs conceptions of Heaven, which *Mahomet* hath framed to allure and draw the minds of rude and groſs men. Of this Sect are all the *Scheghs* or able Preachers that belong to the Royal *Moſchs* or Churches; who are men conſtant in their devotions, abſtemious in their diet, of a chearful countenance, and taking behaviour, great lovers of Harmony and Muſick, of an indifferent ſtrain in Poetry, whereby they compoſe certain Songs in Meeter, for entertainment of their Auditory. They are likewiſe generous and compaſſionate of humane frailty; and are not Covetous, Stoical, or Conceited of themſelves, by which means their behaviour is rendred extreamly taking through all *Conſtantinople*; they are greatly delighted with an ingenious Aſpect in youth, and from thence gather matter of contemplation on the comelineſs of the increated beauty: they are addicted to entertain a charitable affection for their neighbour, becauſe (as they ſay) he is Creature of God, from whom our love is converted to the Creator. Their Diſciples they procure as much as poſſible,

In Turkiſh *Menſucas*

Called in Turkiſh *Habi* and *Teſphi*.

poſſible, to be men of comely and pleaſing counte nances, and Majeſtick preſence, who they inſtruct in all the rules of abſtinence, gravity, and other vertues moſt appropriated to their Sect. And theſe of all ſorts of *Turks* ſeem worthy of the beſt Character, whom I compaſſionate, for not being born within the Pale of a Chriſtian Church, nor duely inſtructed in the Myſtery of Chriſtianity, to which they ſeem by their morality and vertues already to have prepared many previous diſpoſitions.

A Sect much different to that immediately foregoing is the *Haireti*, ſignifying amazed, and doubtful in determination of all controverſies, who can endure any thing rather than to controvert opinions, and diſpute one queſtion in chaſe of truth: they will neither undertake to perſwade or diſſwade, but like the Academicks affirm that falſity may by the wit and contrivance of man be dreſſed in a habit as not to be diſtinguiſhed from truth it ſelf; and on the contrary, truth may be ſo diſguiſed with Sophiſtry and Deluſions as to be rendred as deformed and ugly, as falſhood, and therefore they conclude all queſtions to be meerly probable, and no ways admitting of certain demonſtration; ſo that in points of dubious controverſies their common ſayings are, *Allah Bilur*, God knows, *bize karanuk*, it is unknown to us, and ſuch like expreſſions favouring of negligence and a bruitiſh want of curioſity to ſearch into the Studies of Art and Science. Of this Sect ſome notwithſtanding are Preachers, and from that degree are promoted to the Office of *Mufti*, in which they behave themſelves according to their affected careleſneſs, with a readineſs and facility to ſubſcribe all ſentences to the ſatisfaction and in favour of the demandant; adding for the moſt part theſe words, *Well ahu ealem biſſenah*, God knows

knows that which is beſt. As to the manner of their life and practice, they are punctual obſervers of the Rites of the *Mahometan* Religion and Conſtitutions of their Civil Law, but much incline to yield to the courſe of their own nature, and the force of paſſion; they drink Wine not to appear Cynical or unſociable, but more generally addict themſelves to Electuaries compoſed of *Opium*, which tends to augment their natural ſtupefaction; and when they are overcome with the obſcurity of this vapour, whatſoever you affirm, though never ſo contradictory, they readily aſſent to, not ſo much (as they confeſs) from a perſwaſion to one propoſition more than another, but of a pleaſing compliance to their companions, which humour the nature of their Sect allows of. And though they ſtile the *Eſchraki* Dogmatical and obſtinate Opiniators, yet by experience it is obſerved that the *Mufties* Educated in the *Eſchrakian* Schools have been much more fortunate than thoſe of the *Hairetian* Sect; becauſe the former having a certain foundation of principles, have been cautious in ſigning *Fetfas*, or delivering their Sentence in the reſolution of weighty Matters of State, chooſing rather to renounce their Office, than their reaſon. But the others being negligent and incurious in their determinations, as if fortune did direct them more to the true part than ſolidity of judgment; have been always free and open in their Sentences; by which means events of State falling out unhappily, and the miſcarriage attributed to the counſel of the *Mufti*, they have been oftner ſubject to the puniſhment of baniſhment or death than their Opponents.

We ſhall not proceed to ſwell this Work with a longer Catalogue of theſe Sects, leſt we ſhould ſeem over-tedious to the Reader, and inſtead of pleaſing his Palate, ſhould over-charge his Stomach; otherwiſe

otherwiſe we might proceed to recite as many Sects as there are Towns or Schools in the Empire, in every one of which ſome pragmatical Preacher or other have always ſtarted a new opinion, which can never want Diſciples. And certainly the diverſity of opinions in *Turky* is almoſt infinite, and more numerous than in *England*, or other parts of Chriſtendom, though commonly not proceeding from the ſame malice, nor laid with the ſame deſign to the prejudice of the State: the reaſon of this variety amongſt the *Turks* I attribute to the many Religions which voluntarily, and for intereſt or by force have entred into the *Mahometan* ſuperſtition, many of which being *Grecians*, and inſtructed in the Arts and Sciences with which that Empire once flouriſhed, which was the Mine and Treaſury of Philoſophy and Learning, did afterwards mix with their new Religions (not being wholly ſatisfied with the *Alchoran*) certain Traditions and Opinions of the ancient Philoſophers: And ſeveral other Nations, as *Ruſſians*, *Moſcovites*, *Chircaſſians*, and the like, retaining ſome few remembrances of their firſt Notions and Principles, make a farther addition to this ill compounded medley, which alſo receiving ſome difference and variety as they encreaſed and were propagated, have multiplyed into a number both unprofitable and tedious to ſearch farther into.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Derviſes.

IT is commonly known and received, that the *Turkiſh* Religion is an abſurd Compoſition of the Chriſtian and Jewiſh Rites; in imitation of the former of which doubtleſs their Monaſteries and Orders of Religious men were introduced; moſt of which incline to a pretended mortification and ſtrictneſs of life; to Poverty, and Renunciation of the Worlds enjoyments, according to the devotion of Chriſtians a thouſand years paſt, whoſe piety and exemplary lives drew Infidels to extract a rough Copy of their elevated vertues.

I have been the more curious in making an exact enquiry into the Cuſtoms, Inſtitutions, and Doctrines of the *Mahometan* Convents, becauſe I find relations hereof ſparingly ſcattered in other Books, and that obſcurely without punctuality or certainty: But I ſhall promiſe my Reader to deliver nothing herein, but what I have good Authority for, and taken from the mouth of the moſt Learned of their *Seighs* or Preachers, which are the Heads or Superiours of theſe Societies.

The Doctors of the *Mahometan* Law inform me, that their Religious Houſes and Inſtitutions, are as ancient as *Mahomet*, from whom general orders and inſtructions were derived from their œconomy, firſt to his Diſciple *Hali*; but our *Turkiſh Hiſtory* and other Records make no mention of theſe Monaſteries, till within theſe Three hundred and fifty

years, in the time of *Orchanes* ſecond King of the *Turks*, who is famed to have been the firſt Founder of Houſes of theſe Orders.

Thoſe of the *Mahometan* Faith, who firſt framed Rules and Inſtitutions for theſe Religions, were two, *viz. Calvettee* and *Nacksbendee*, which after *Mahomet* are eſteemed the two Fountains from whence other Orders are produced, which are theſe following; from *Chalvettee* are derived

Nimetulahi from *Nimetula*
Kadri from *Kadri*
Kalenderi from *Kalendar*
Edhemi from *Edhem*
Hizrevi from *Hizr*
Bektaſſe from *Bektaſs.*

} The firſt Founders and Maſters of theſe Orders.

From *Nacksbendee* proceed only two, *viz.*

Ebrbuharee from *Ebrbuhar* } Their Original
Mevelevee from *Mevelava* } Founders.

Theſe ſeveral Orders we ſhall diſtinctly touch upon, beginning with the *Mevelevee*, which tho ſet down here laſt, yet becauſe for fame amongſt the *Turks*, they are the firſt, we ſhall moſt largely and particularly treat of them.

Their Superior.

The *Mevelevee*, otherwiſe and moſt commonly named *Derviſe*, which word ſignifies Poor and Renouncers of the World, have their chief and ſuperior Foundation in *Iconium*, which conſiſts of at the leaſt Four hundred *Derviſes*, and governs all the other Convents of that Order within the *Turkiſh* Empire, by virtue of a Charter given them by *Ottoman* firſt of the *Mahometan* Kings, who out of devotion to their Religion once placed their Prior or Superior in his Royal Throne, becauſe having been his Tutor, and he who girted on his Sword (which is the principal Ceremony of Coronation) he granted him and his Succeſſors ample Authority and

and Rule over all others of the ſame Profeſſion.

They pretend to great Patience, Humility, Modeſty, Charity, and Silence, in preſence of their Superiour or others; their eyes are always fixed downwards, their heads hanging towards their breaſt, and their bodies bending forwards. Their Poſtures.

Their Shirts are of the courſeſt Linnen can be made, with a white Plad or Mantle about their ſhoulders: but moſt wear a looſe kind of Garment made of Wool at *Iconium* or in *Anatolia*, of a dark colour; their Caps or what they wear on their heads is like the Crown of a Hat of the largeſt ſize, made of a courſe Felt of a whitiſh colour, their Legs are always bare, and their Breaſts open, which ſome of them burn or ſear in token of greater devotion: they wear alſo a Leather girdle with ſome ſhining ſtone upon the Buckle before, either of Marble or Alablaſter, Porphyry, Ivory, or ſomething that makes a great ſhew or luſter; they always carry with them a ſtring of Beads, which they call *Tesbe*, and oftner run them over, than our Friers do their Roſary; at every Bead repeating the name of God. When the Prior of this Order dies, they commonly ſet a Hearſe for him in a Chappel, and upon it lay a long ſtring of Beads as big as Walnuts. It is alſo common amongſt other *Turks* to carry Beads in their hands to play with; and they ſay that when they have no other employment, that kind of divertiſement drives away idle and evil thoughts. Their Cloathing

Beſides their Faſt of *Ramazan*, they keep a weekly Faſt on every *Thurſday*, on which day, none unleſs for ſome indiſpoſition of health, or other lewful cauſe, hath licenſe to eat, until after Sun-ſetting. Their Faſts.

Every *Tueſday* and *Friday* the Superiour of the Convent makes a Sermon or Expoſition of ſome Verſes in the *Alchoran*, or out of the Books wrote by the Founder, or ſome other prime Doctor of the

Their turning round.

Mahometan Law; after which is done, the *Derviſes* with marvellous modeſty and reverence bowing to their Superiour, begin to turn round, ſome of them with that ſwift motion, that their faces can ſcarce be ſeen, a certain Pipe made of a Cane, ſounding all the time of this motion; and on a ſudden, when the Muſick ceaſes, they all ſtop with that exactneſs and firmneſs, ſhewing no ſymptoms of a diſordered or ſwimming brain; to which having accuſtomed themſelves from their infancy or youth, in ſome years that motion becomes as natural, with as little diſturbance to their head or Stomach, as to walk forward, or to uſe any other exerciſe which nature is delighted with. This cuſtom (they ſay) they obſerve with great devotion in imitation of their firſt Founder *Mevelana*, who for fourteen days together, and without taking any nouriſhment, uſed this Vertiginous motion by a miraculous aſſiſtance (his Friend *Hamze*, or Companion, all that time ſounding by him with his Flute or Pipe) until at laſt falling into an extaſie, he received ſtrange Revelations, and Divine commands for the inſtitution of this his Order: The Pipe they play on, they eſteem for an ancient ſanctified ſort of Muſick, and to be that on which *Jacob* and the other holy Shepherds in the Old Teſtament praiſed God.

It hath a doleful melancholy ſound; but their conſtant exerciſe and application thereunto makes it as Muſical as can be imagined in ſuch an Inſtrument: the beſt of thoſe Canes are eſteemed to come from *Iconium*, and are of twenty five Dollars price. But this ſort of devotion with inſtrumental Muſick, is by *Turks* themſelves diſputed againſt, denying that their Founder, who was ſo ſpiritual a man, did ever inſtitute, or himſelf uſe Muſick in his turning round, becauſe the *Alcboran* expreſly forbids all devotion and ſervice of God with Muſick,

but

but only with the natural and living Voice; And that is the reaſon why in calling their people to prayers they uſe no Bells, but only the Voice of a Man; and for this cauſe I remember, that in my time prohibitions have been made by publick Authority againſt this practice of the *Derviſes*. But they on the contrary, alledging *David*'s example, and his Dancing before the Ark, as argumemts for their Muſick and Giration, have by the help of ſeveral perſons in power, many of them being greatly affected with their devotion, maintained from time to time this cuſtom and inſtitution of the firſt Founder of this Order, notwithſtanding that one *Vanni Efendi*, a great *Seigh* or Preacher, eſteemed as a knowing Perſon by the Grand Signior, and all the Court, hath by his Authority endeavoured to Reform this Corruption (as he calls it) amongſt them.

Their Profeſſion

They profeſs Poverty, Chaſtity, and Obedience, like Capuchin Friers or other Orders of St. *Francis*; but if any have not the gift of Continence, he may obtain licence to leave his Convent and Marry; but of theſe, they obſerve that none ever thrived or lived happily with contentment, that renounced this Dedication to Gods Service.

Their Employment.

The Novices ſerve in the moſt ſervile Offices, and in time others ſupply their places; they lie as Companions two together in a Cell, ſome of which employ their time in Learning to Read and Write in *Turkiſh*, *Arabick*, and *Perſian*; but moſt yield to the ſlothful temperament to which they are naturally addicted: but becauſe the nature of man is reſtleſs, and muſt employ it ſelf either in good or bad actions; moſt of theſe aſſociates exerciſe ſome kind of Legerdemain, or tricks to amuſe the minds of the common people; and ſome really apply themſelves to Sorceries and Conjurations by help of

familiar Spirits. *Busbequius* tells ſtrange ſtories of one with whom he was acquainted, that he would ſtrike a ſtone of great weight and bigneſs againſt his bare Breaſt with that force and violence as were ſufficient to knock down an Ox, or break the bones of the ſtouteſt Gyant; and that the ſame man he hath ſeen take an Iron Bar red hot from the Fire and hold it in his mouth, and though the ſpittle and moiſture of his mouth hiſſed with the heat, yet he ſeemed to take it thence again without the leaſt hurt or burning imaginable.

This ſort of people of all other *Turks*, addict themſelves to drink Wine, Strong Waters, and other intoxicating Liquors; and eat *Opium* in that quantity, by degrees uſing their bodies thereunto, that no Mountebank or *Mithridates* himſelf who was nouriſhed with Poiſon, are capable to digeſt half that proportion that theſe men will do; the effect of which is at firſt, like men drunk or mad, to raiſe their ſpirits to a ſort of diſtracted Mirth, and afterwards when the ſubtile vapours are conſumed and ſpent, and a dull ſtupefaction overcomes them, they name it an extaſie, which they account very holy and divine in imitation of their firſt Founder, who was often obſerved to put himſelf into this condition; and therefore what helps may be found to excite mirth or diſtraction, is lawful and allowable in this Order.

There is a famous Monaſtery of theſe in *Egypt*, invocating for their Saint one *Kederlee*, which by the Stories they tell of him ſhould be St. *George*, in conformity with whom all other *Derviſes* maintain a reverent eſteem of this Saint, affirming that in his life-time he was a valiant Horſeman, killed Dragons and all ſorts of venomous beaſts; and now being departed this life, God for preſervation of good men, hath given him power to deliver ſuch as

as being in diſtreſs, invokes his aſſiſtance; eſpecially thoſe who are at Sea, and at the point of ſhipwrack; and that he with an extraordinary ſwiftneſs of motion flies from one part of the World to another in the twinkling of an eye, and ſeaſonably comes in to their ſuccor. Theſe by vertue of that bleſſing *Kederlee* confers upon them, pretend to charm Serpents and Adders, and handle them as familiarly as we do the moſt innocent and domeſtick Creatures; which art, as I have heard from good Authority, is not peculiar in *Egypt* only to *Derviſes*, but to other men who are ſaid to be naturally endued with a vertue againſt the poiſonous bites of Vipers and other venomous Beaſts; who putting great numbers of them into a Bag together, do cull and ſort them out with their hands, as one would do Worms or Muſcles; and others with a word charm Serpents from moving as they crawl along the Banks of *Nile*, which Gifts theſe men pretend to inherit from their Parents, and others to poſſeſs in reward of their Vertue and Sanctity. This ſort of *Egyptian Derviſes* have ſainted the Horſe of St. *George*, and have ſeated him in Paradiſe with the other three beaſts in high reſpect and eſteem amongſt the *Turks*, *viz.* the Aſs on which Chriſt rode, the Camel of *Mahomet*, and the Dog of the ſeven Sleepers.

Theſe *Derviſes* have Monaſteries in the moſt famous places of the *Turkiſh* Empire, which ſerve the travelling Pilgrims of this Order for Inns and places of entertainment: for they above all other Religious *Turks*, journey and travel from one place to another, where the *Mahometan* Religion is profeſſed, under pretence of preaching and propagating their Faith; and thus they travel upon Charity of their Monaſteries and Alms of others, into *Perſia*, *China*, and the Dominions of the *Mogul*, by which means



A Sort of Dervise that Travailes the World

they become the beſt ſpies and intelligencers of any that are found in the Eaſtern parts of the World.

I remember at *Adrianople* to have ſeen the ruine of one of theſe Monaſteries ſituated on a pleaſant Hill, and in good Air, that overſees the whole City and Plains round about; which upon enquiry I underſtand was demoliſhed by the famous Viſier *Kuperli*; becauſe it was diſcovered to be a Rendezvous of the lewd Women of the Town, and a Stew where the young Gallants debauched the Wives of the richeſt *Turks*, to whom their Husbands had given liberty in honour to the Sanctity of the place, to be often preſent at the devotion of the *Derviſes*; but their way of practice being too publick and ſcandalous, the Foundation of their Houſe by the order of the Viſier was razed to the ground.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Order of Religious Turks *called* Ebrbuharee.

THis Order of *Ebrbuharee* was firſt inſtituted by their Founder and Inſtitutor *Ebrbuhar*, from whom they have their denomination, who herein followed the Precepts and Rules of his Maſter *Nackshende*, from whom in like manner the Order of *Mevelevee* or *Derviſes* are derived: for the better underſtanding this ſort of people, the Reader may take this following, as an authentick diſcourſe relating to their Manners and Original, which I ſhall deliver *Verbatim* as given me in writing by one eſteemed

esteemed Learned amongst the *Turks*, and was a *Hadgi* or Pilgrim, and made it his business to inform me of this Sect. *Sultan Bajazet*, said he, in the year of *Mahomet* Nine hundred and eleven, erected a *Mosch* and Convent in *Constantinople*, dedicated to this Holy *Emir Ebrbuhar* (that is the Race of *Mahomet*) upon whom rest the mercy of the Creator. This man both extrinsecally as to appearance in the World, and intrinsecally as to his devout Soul, was famous and renowned for the Miracles he worked; on which Fabrick *Sultan Selim* afterwards bestowed a Fountain of Water.

This *Ebrbuhar* Scholar of *Nacksbende*, taking into
Vabi. his company the assistance of *Abdulla* and *Ilabi* and *Vesa*, Preachers and Heads of other Convents, came out of *Asia* to propagate their Doctrine in *Europe*.

Their actions were governed with Meekness, Gravity, and Silence, and laying aside all superstitious Worships, they exercise themselves in pious actions; their discourses amongst themselves were nothing in relation to the things of the World, but of Matters relating to a future life.

These poor Religious fast for the most part on *Mundays* and *Thursdays*; and both they and those devoted to their order abstain from all Meats that carry with them any fetulent or ungrateful smells, and in this manner these devout people exercised in abstinence and a moral life, and swallowed up or transported with the illumination of God, and attending to their daily prayers, Commemoration of Gods mercy, and other offices of devotion, acquire a holy disposition and preparation for Celestial glory.

As to the Holy *Emir Ebrbuhar*, whose Mysterious life may God sanctifie to us, he was nourished with Bread

Bread made of Barly, Oil of Olives, Hony and Grapes, and abſtained from all things of a ſtrong ſcent or ſavour; he eat but three times a year, giving himſelf continually to Faſting and Prayer; he was a man of great Sanctity, full of Divine Revelation, his attractive vertue was grateful to all, to his Feet from divers Countreys were many diſeaſed perſons brought, which afterwards returned ſound and healthful to their own homes; all which is the relation of my Doctor and great admirer of the *Mahometan* Religion.

In commendation of the Religious of this Order, are theſe Verſes in the *Perſian* Tongue,

Gher hakiki iahi der gehan bulendi
Nakschibendi Kiun Nakschibendi; that is,

If thou wouldeſt find in the World one accompliſhed as a true *Heroe*, make thy ſelf a *Nakschibendi*, who is the true pattern of a Servant of God.

And notwithſtanding this great pretended purity and ſanctity of theſe men, they are yet by the generality eſteemed *Hereticks* in the *Mahometan* ſuperſtition, becauſe they judge themſelves not obliged to the Pilgrimage of *Mecha*, by reaſon of their pretended purity of Soul and Seraphick Raptures, which elevate them above the World, and enable them in their very Cells to be preſent or have a clear Proſpect into their Holy *Mecha*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Nimetulahi.

ONE of thoſe who are accounted in the number of *Chalvetti* is the *Nimetulahi*, they had their beginning in the *Hegira* or year of *Mahomet* 777, and their denomination from one of that name, famous for his Doctrine and ſeverity of life in the time of *Sultan Mahomet*, Son of *Bajazet*, called by the *Turks Ilderim*, or the Son of Thunder; He was an excellent Phyſician, and renowned for his vertues amongſt vulgar; for better knowledg of his Life and Doctrine, the Reader may take notice what one of this Order related to me in admiration of his Maſter.

He was one, ſaid he, who preached and publiſhed the Truth, mortifyed his Body, followed not the affections of the carnal Appetite, knew the intrinſick nature and quiddity of all Creatures, rendred continual Prayers and Praiſes to his Creator; and ſo long reſigned himſelf entirely to ſpeculation, until he arrived to the raviſhment of Extaſies and Raptures, in which he oftentimes obtained the happineſs to diſcourſe with God.

He eat of all thoſe things which God made lawful for humane nouriſhment, without obſervation of Faſts or ſtrictneſs in Diet, but day and night continued his Prayers and Devotions: while he ſlept he extended not his feet like the Beaſts of ſenſe, who eat Corn and Hay in the Stables; ſometimes the fear of God made him tremble, and his countenance

tenance became melancholy and affrighted with the apprehenſion of his Majeſty. And to this perfection none ever arrived, nor to that intimate knowledg of the Divine Secrets.

The Profeſſors of this Order aſſemble every *Monday* night to praiſe the Unity of the Divine Nature, and Celebrate the name of God with Hymns and Songs.

Thoſe that would initiate themſelves into this Order, are obliged to make a Quarentine firſt, or remain ſequeſtred in a Chamber for the ſpace of forty days, with twenty four drams of Meat a day, during which time they ſee the Face of God, the ſublime Paradiſe, and praiſe the Creator and Framer of the Univerſe; at the expiration of their term, they are taken forth by the reſt of the Fraternity, who taking hands Dance in a *Morris*, in which Vagary, if any Viſion appear to the Novices from God, they throw their Cloaths behind them, and fall flat with their faces on the ground, like men aſtoniſhed or ſtrook with an Apoplexy, until ſuch time as their Prior or chief of their Order coming and making Prayers for them, they return by degrees to their ſenſe again, and taking them up with their eyes red and diſtorted, they remain a while like men drunk, diſtracted or ſtupid; but afterwards their ſcattered ſpirits being better collected, the Prior demands in ſecret their Viſions and Revelations, which they communicate to him, or ſome other ſerious and grave perſon well inſtructed in the Myſteries of their Profeſſion.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Kadri.

THis is another of thoſe ſix Religions which are derived from *Chalvetti*, which had one *Abdul Kadri Ghilani* for its firſt Founder, a man greatly admired for wiſdom and abſtinence, whoſe Sepulchre is found without *Babylon*, to which place many of thoſe who enter into the Regular Orders of theſe Convents make their Pilgrimages.

Thoſe who enter into this Religion, muſt perform their Novitiate with degrees of abſtinence and faſting; wherefore when firſt they take the profeſſion upon them, there is beſtowed upon them a ſmall cudgel made of the Wood of a Willow, weighing when freſh and green four hundred Drams, which they are alway to carry about them hung at their Girdle; by the weight of this they take their daily allowance of Bread, until ſuch time as the wood becoming exceeding dry, is alſo much the lighter, and ſo according as the weight thereof lightens, their proportion of Bread diminiſhes.

Beſides their prayers of five times a day, to which all *Mahometans* are bound, they are obliged to ſpend the whole or beſt part of the night with turning round at the ſound of a little Pipe, and to utter this word *Hai*, *Hai*, which ſignifies Alive, being one of the Attributes of God: and this they do in imitation of the Cuſtom uſed by their Founder, who is ſaid to have pronounced this word *Hai* ſo often, and with that vehemency, that the vein of his breaſt burſting, the blood guſhed out upon

upon the Wall, and made the word *Hai.* Wherefore all his Diſciples to follow the Example of their Maſter, taking hands together in a ring, repeat this word *Hai, Hai,* with ſo much violence, and ſo often, until they fall on the ground without breath or life; thoſe who laſt out longeſt carry off the dead from the Chamber, and lay them to recover their Spirits after their ſtrained Exerciſe; and this they do every *Friday* night. Every one of theſe are obliged once in the year to a retirement of forty days, in a little Cell free from all company or converſation, during which time they are wholly to give themſelves to Meditations, and to obſerve their Dreams, and ſo recount them to their Superior, who Studies the Interpretation of them, and from them Divines of future things.

They have many times licenſe from their Superior to be drunk or intoxicate themſelves with *Aqua vitæ, Opium,* or any ſtupifying Drugs, to be better able to perform with more ſpirit and vehemency their mad Dance.

Theſe fellows are of a refined Wit, notable Sophiſters and Hypocrites; their Secrets they reveal to none but thoſe of their own Profeſſion, by which means they are ſubtle to cheat thoſe of other Religions.

They are not debarred from the liberty of Marriage; but if they do marry, they are excluded from the Covenant, and may wear any ſort of Habit, yet for diſtinction ſake they wear black Buttons; thoſe that live in the Convent, carry a certain white Plad of a courſe Cloth, their heads with hair unſhaven, without Caps or other covering, and their Feet bare. Theſe are called *Kadri,* and have a Convent at *Tophana* in *Conſtantinople.*

The Founder of this Order, called, as we have ſaid before, *Abdul Kadir Ghilan,* was born in the *Hegira*

Hegira or year of *Mahomet* Five hundred and ſixty one, and died in the year Six hundred and fifty ſeven; he was eſteemed both a Lawyer and a Philoſopher; his Maſter or Inſtructor was *Abdul Mumin Gazeli*, who compoſed two Books, one called *Mugrib*, or the *Arabian* Grammar, and another called *Andalus*. At that time that *Helakin* Son of *Genghiz Han* came to *Babylon*, he cauſed him to kill one *Alkami* then Vice-king of that City, for being of the *Perſian* Sect, called by the *Turks*, *Rafizi* or Hereticks, becauſe they reject *Abubecher*, *Omar*, and *Oſman*, as Apocryphal Writers, and attribute not to them that honour of Holy men, which is given by the *Turks*.

The Prior or chief of the Convent of this Order, teach their Diſciples a certain Prayer, which they whiſper in their Ears, that it may not be overheard or known by others; this they are obliged to repeat every moment with little intermiſſion, unleſs at times ſet apart for the offices of nature; and boaſt that it hath ſo much of efficacy in it, that by vertue thereof, they obtain the enjoyment of Divine Viſions and Revelations.

Their poſture is like other Religious *Mahometans*, to ſit with their heads hanging down, and their Noſes in their Breaſts, which they call *Murakabe*; the better to keep them from diſtraction, or wandring thoughts, during their contemplations of Heaven, and the vanity of ſatisfying the carnal appetite.

Amongſt the many Miracles that the followers of this Order recount of their Maſter, one is this, That coming once to *Babylon* to inhabit amongſt the other ſuperſtitious perſons and *Santones* of that City, they hearing of his reproach went forth to meet him, one of them carrying in his hand a diſh filled with water; from whence they would infer, that

that as that diſh was full to the brim ſo as to be capable of containing no more, ſo their City was ſo repleniſhed with Learned and Religious perſons, that there was no place to receive him: Whereupon this ſubtle Sophiſter ſtudying to confute this Hieroglyphick, whereby they would excuſe the courteſie of due Hoſpitality, ſtretching his Arms firſt towards Heaven, and then bowed down and gathered a Roſe leaf which he laid on the water, which before had filled the diſh: by which piece of ingenuity, he not only confuted the Parable of the Churliſh *Babylonians*, but alſo ſo took with them, that they regiſtred it as a Miracle of Wiſdom, and bringing him into their City with triumph, made him the Superiour of all their Orders.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the Order of Kalenderi.

THis Order may rather be termed the Sect of *Epicureans*, than men retired to mortifie their appetites, and deny the world, as all other of the religious and regulated *Turks* pretend; but yet this ſort of Fanaticks pretend to Religion by a different way of Libertiniſm and looſeneſs in their Converſation; which they act ſo publickly, that they are not aſhamed to profeſs their inſtitution and cuſtoms to be after this manner.

In the time of *Mahomet Manſur*, Son of *Melkaziz Ohoma* the Son of *Silahdin*, being ready to reſign up his laſt breath, bequeathed to his Son *Mahomet Melik Kiamel*, the Government of *Cairo*, and all the other parts of the Kingdom of *Egypt*; *Damaſcus*



a Santone or Holy man

and *Jeruſalem* to his Son *Iſa Melick Muazin* and *Diarbekir*, to his third Son *Eſchrefmuſa*; There lived a certain *Santone*, who always mentioned the name of God with the ſound of his Pipe; and with that Muſick recreated himſelf day and night, not after a chearful and merry humour, but with ſad and melancholy Tunes, accompanied his Pipe with Tears and Sighs. He was an excellent Muſician, and a deep Philoſopher, endued with thoſe ſupernatural vertues as enabled him to work Miracles clear and notorious to all the World; he was an *Hermite*, called in *Arabick Abdal*; went with his head bare, and his body full of wounds, without a Shirt or other Cloathing, beſides a Skin of ſome wild Beaſt thrown about his Shoulders; at his Girdle he wore ſome fine poliſhed Stone; on his Wriſts, inſtead of Diamonds and Stones of value he wore counterfeit Jewels, which carried a luſter and fair appearance with them; this man was called *Santone Kalenderi*, who was continually ſinging *Arabick* Sonnets, and according to them Muſical Airs, making alſo harmonious compoſitions ſo artificially, that he ſeemed another *David*. But how ſtrict and ſober this *Santone* was, his Diſciples or Proſelytes are of another temper, being wholly given up to jollity and delights, they baniſh all kind of melancholy and ſadneſs, and live free of cares, paſſions or torments of the mind, and have this ſaying amongſt them, *This day is ours, to morrow is his who ſhall live to enjoy it*; and therefore ſtudiouſly attend to loſe no moment or leaſt part of their pleaſure, but conſume their time in eating and drinking; and to maintain this gluttony they will ſell the Stones of their Girdles, their Earings and Bracelets. When they come to the houſe of any rich Man or perſon of Quality, they accommodate themſelves to their humour, giving all the Family pleaſant words and

chearful expreſſions to perſwade them to a liberal and free entertainment. The Tavern by them is accounted holy as the *Moſch*, and believe they ſerve God as much with debauchery or liberal uſe of his creatures (as they call it) as others with ſeverity and mortification. And the *Turks* ſay, That in the *Hegira* 615, the Chriſtians became Maſters of *Jeruſalem*, by reaſon that the Inſtitutor of this Order of the *Kalenderi*, who had a chief hand in the Government of the City, was found drunk when it was aſſaulted.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the Edhemi.

THE original Founder of this Order was one *Ibrahim Edhem*, concerning whom the Diſciples themſelves, or Followers, recount things very obſcurely, and tell us Stories that his Father was a Slave and *Abaſine* by Nation, and went one day under the Fort *Horaman* to diſcourſe with *Ibnimelik* King of *Cairo*; that he was a man very comely, facetious, and ſober in his carriage, always deſiring to pleaſe God, continued in the *Moſchs* reading the *Alchoran*, and in prayer day and night with his face proſtrate on the ground, and often repeating theſe words;

O God, thou haſt given me ſo much wiſdom, as that I know clearly that I am in thy direction; and therefore ſcorning all Power and Dominion, I reſign my ſelf to the ſpeculation of Philoſophy and a Holy Life.

His



Religious man of the order of Edhemi.

His Servants ſeeing this his devout way of living, applied themſelves to the imitation of his Auſterity, and abandoning all greatneſs and vanities of the World, applied themſelves to ſolitude and mortification, their ſuperfluous Garments they beſtowed on the Poor, giving to thoſe whoſe neceſſities required them.

Their food is Bread made of Barley, and Pray frequently with Faſting, and their Priors apply themſelves much to a faculty in Preaching.

Their principal Convents are in Cities of *Perſia*, eſpecially *Choraſan*.

Their Cloathing is of a courſe thick Cloth, upon their heads they wear a Cap of Wooll, with a Turbant round it, and about their necks a white Linnen Cloth ſtriped with red. In the Deſerts they converſe with Lions and Tigers, ſalute them and make them tame, and by the miraculous power of Divine aſſiſtance entertain diſcourſe with *Enoch* in the Wilderneſs; This and many other wild diſcourſes they make of this *Edhem*; but becauſe there are but few of this Order in *Conſtantinople*, being moſt appropriated to *Perſia*; I could not receive ſo particular an account of their Rule and Inſtitutions, as I have done of others.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

The Order of Bectaſh.

THE original Founder of this Religion, is of no ancient memory or ſtanding, nor had his Birth or Education amongſt the *Santones* of *Arabia*, from whence moſt of theſe ſuperſtitious pretenders have had their beginning; but one of thoſe that was an Army-Preacher, that could fight as well as pray, of whom my Learned *Hogia* gives me this account.

In the time, ſays he, *that the Warlike and Victorious* Sultan Amurath *paſſed with his Army into* Servia, *and overcame* Lazarus, *the Deſpot of that Country, and ſlew him in Battel*, Bectaſh *was then a Preacher to* Amurath, *who amongſt other his Admonitions forewarned him of truſting the* Servians; *but* Amurath *out of his couragious ſpirit relying on his own Wiſdom and Force, admitted a certain Nobleman called* Vilvo, *upon pretence of doing him homage, to approach near him and kiſs his hand, who having his Dagger ready and concealed, ſtabbed* Amurath *to the heart, and with that blow made him a Martyr.* Bectaſh *knowing that this treacherous death of his Prince, muſt needs alſo be the cauſe of his, for being ſo near his perſon, and propheſying of this fatal ſtroke, ſought not to prevent it, but made preparations for his own death. And in order thereunto provided himſelf with a white Robe with long Sleeves, which he proffered to all thoſe which were his Admirers, and Proſelytes, to be kiſſed as a mark of their obedience to him and his Inſtitutions; from this action the cuſtom hath been introduced of kiſſing the ſleeve of the Grand Signior.* *Vid Chap.* 20. l. 1.

The Religious of this Order wear on their heads white Caps of ſeveral pieces with Turbants of Wooll, twiſted in the faſhion of a Rope; they obſerve conſtantly the hours of Prayer, which they perform in their own Aſſemblies; they go Cloathed in White, and praiſe the Unity of God, crying, Hu, *(which is, may he live) and by theſe means obtain the Grace of God.*

This Santone *hath many millions of Diſciples and Followers; now all the* Janizaries *of the* Ottoman *Port are profeſſors of the ſame Religion. This* Bectaſh *at his death cut off one of his ſleeves, and put it upon the head of one of his Religious men, part of which hung down on his ſhoulders, ſaying, After this you ſhall be* Janizaries, *which ſignifies a new Militia; and from that time begun their original inſtitution; ſo this is the reaſon why the* Janizaries *wear Caps falling behind after the manner of Sleeves, called* Ketche. *This* Hagi Bectaſh *was a perſon exceedingly attractive in his converſation, holy to admiration, a Man of great Worth, and Majeſtick in his comportment; he was buried in the City* Kyr, *where they have many Convents and Religious followers, who always praiſe and adore God: and thus far my* Hogia *informs me.*

But whatſoever he ſays, this Order is the moſt abhorred in the World by the *Kadizadeli*, becauſe that *Bectaſh* left it to the free will of his Diſciples, either to obſerve the conſtant hours of prayer, or not; by which great liberty and licentiouſneſs is entred amongſt the *Janizaries*, who are Soldier-like, not over zealous or devout in their Prayers, little attendant to the Offices of devotion. In ſome Songs which this *Bectaſh* is ſaid to have compoſed, it is often repeated, *That none hath known God, becauſe none hath ſeen him:* And for this reaſon the moſt zealous *Mahometans* call the *Janizaries Kefereſis*, which ſignifies without Faith; and a certain *Muſti* called *Ebuſnud* delivered his Sentence or *Fetfa*,

Fetſa, to the queſtion demanded him; If a *Muſſelman* or Believer ſhould ſay to a *Janizari*, *thou art a Pagan*, what puniſhment he ſhould merit by the Law? he replied, that a man is an Infidel, who holds a *Janizari* for a true Believer.

Some Friers of this Order of *Bectaſh* do in all publick Shews and Solemnities march near the perſon of the *Janizar Aga*, crying continual, *Hu*, *Hu*, with their Daggers drawn. They are a moſt licentious ſort of people, much given to *Sodomy*, for which the ignorant and looſe ſort of *Janizaries* are willingly their Diſciples; and are now grown into that vaſt multitude, as is almoſt impoſſible to extirpate them or their Vices; though corroſives are laid to eat away this Gangreen in the Militia, which goes creeping on with an unſenſible pace; as we ſhall diſcourſe more largely in the next Book of the *Turkiſh* Militia.

CHAP. XX.

Of the Order of Herewi *or* Hizrevi.

IN the time of *Orchanes* the ſecond King of the *Turks*, who Governed thirty five years, and Reigned eighty three, and died in the *Hegira* of *Mahomet* ſeven hundred and ſixteen, there lived in *Pruſa*, then the Regal Seat, a famous *Santone* called *Herewi*, who uſed to walk up and down, and as an act of charity to buy the Livers and Lights of Beaſts to feed Cats and Dogs; he profeſſed poverty and ſevere mortification with Tears and Sighs, which he acted with that fervency that the Angels leaving Heaven, came to be witneſs of his holy Penance.

Penance. The fame of which moved *Sultan Orchanes* to diſcourſe with him, and to know the ſtory of his paſt life; which he ſmiling began to recount, and told him, that he formerly was a King derived from the Line of *Mahomet*, had compaſſed with his Arms the Rivers of *Nilus*, *Euphrates*, and *Tigris*, had governed Provinces with his Sword and Scepter, had been triumphantly adorned with précious Stones and glittering Arms, and had made the World tremble at the very mention of his name. But at laſt conſidering the vanity of this world, he reſolved on a ſolitary life, and to renounce all the follies and ſmall ſatisfaction of Riches and empty Honours. At which ſaying, *Sultan Orchanes* was amazed, and ſaid, *We ought not to deſpiſe thoſe who under the guiſe and appearance of mad and diſtracted perſons wander through the World, for their Vertues are rare; and in this man particularly I diſcover ſo much of ſanctity, that I judge my ſelf unworthy of the name of one of his Servants.* And this is the reaſon why Fools and Frantick people have ever ſince been had in honour and reverence amongſt the *Turks*, as thoſe whom Revelations and Enthuſiaſms tranſported out of the ordinary temperament of humanity.

This *Herewi* was very Learned and experienced in Chimiſtry; and to thoſe who profeſſed his Order, and entred into the regular life of his Religion, inſtead of Aſpers he beſtowed Gold; he wore a Green Veſt, and lived very abſtemiouſly; he mended his own cloaths, and dreſſed the Dyet for his Convent. He endowed many *Moſchs*, and ſeveral Hoſpitals of Charity at *Grand Cairo* and *Babylon*. His Sepulchre is at *Pruſa*, which is greatly viſited by Pilgrims, and adorned by the Bounty and Munificence of thoſe who reverence the Memory of this holy *Santone*.

This

This is the beſt relation I could procure from one of the *Sheighs* or Preachers, and one that was Prior of this Order; whoſe example, as the original Copy, others of this Order imitate. They have a Monaſtry in *Conſtantinople*, as all the others before-mentioned; beſides which in this Capital City, nor in any parts of the *Turkiſh* Dominions in *Europe*, have I obſerved any *Teke* or Monaſtery, where *Turks* profeſs to lead a Religious life, but is one of the Orders before-mentioned; ſome others there may be about *Babylon* and *Egypt*, and remoteſt parts of *Aſia*, whoſe names and conſtitutions I have not repeated here, who have (as I am informed) ſomewhat more of ridiculous and ſuperſtitious work amongſt them than I have declared in the account I have given of thoſe I have been acquainted with in the parts I have travelled; yet it is obſervable they all of them pretend to Poverty as the neareſt way to arrive to the happineſs of Paradiſe; but with their Poverty (as I have ſeen in ſome of their *Tekes* where I have been, eſpecially thoſe removed from Cities) they mix ſo much negligence in their living, not caring for neatneſs in their Houſes, but leave things in a diſorderly and confuſed manner, as teſtifies their lazineſs as well as poverty; and are not like the Cells of *Capuchins*, who having nothing to attend to beſides their Prayers and Gardens, improve all things with that advantage, as graces Poverty, and convinces the World that in a moderate enjoyment of it there is more ſatisfaction, than in thoſe vexations which attend the diſpoſal and government of heaps of riches, and the ſatiety of opulency and plenty. It is worth noting alſo, that on the Monuments of *Santones* and in the Gardens, or before the Gates of theſe Religious, there is always ſome ridiculous adornment, ſuch as agrees with the fancy of Bedlams; as Crowning the Hearſe of the Dead with beads

Beads and Horns, and Ribbands, and pieces of Tinſel, *&c.* and their doors with the like; accounting it a chief diſpoſition to Divine Service to have a mind endued with an humour inclining to the fancy of Hypocondriacal or diſtracted Heads; ſo that I ſhall not enlarge farther in this Diſcourſe, nor glut my Reader with ſo inſipid and fulſome a ſubject.

CHAP. XXI.

Of Marriages and Divorces, and how far Concubinage is indulged amongſt the Turks.

THE ſtate of Marriage is accounted both honourable and holy amongſt the *Turks*, by which the Race of Mankind is beſt encreaſed and maintained; yet the Prieſt, as I may call him, or their Church-man, hath the leaſt hand in the Solemnity; the matter, as an action wholly Civil, is performed before the *Caddee* or Judg; not unlike the manner practiſed in *England* for ſome few years, according to that abſurd Act of Marriages by a Juſtice of Peace; and is in the nature of a Recognizance, whereby the Husband doth perſonally oblige himſelf before the Judg to take ſuch a Wife, and in caſe of his death or divorce, to endow her with a certain Eſtate to remain to her own diſpoſal. The woman is not there preſent, but appears by her Father or ſome of her neareſt Relations, and is afterwards by a great attendance of Women brought covered, ſitting aſtride on Horſeback under a Canopy to the Habitation of her Bridegroom, who remains at the Gate with open arms to receive her; there is great rejoicing and feaſting hereat, the night before ſhe is brought to the company of her husband;



The Habit of the Women in Constantinople

Husband; but when the precedent ceremonies to the Marriage are performed and compleated, the Houſe is all ſilent, and ſhe is brought into the Bride-Chamber by an Eunuch (if ſhe be of Quality) if not, by ſome Women of near Relation, and delivered to her Husband, who is himſelf to untie her Drawers, and undreſs her for his bed, not unlike the cuſtom amongſt the *Romans* of *Zonam Solvere.*

Polygamy is freely indulged to them by their Religion as far as the number of four Wives, contrary to the common report, that a *Turk* may have as many Wives as he can maintain; Though *Mahomet* had nine Wives, and *Hali* had fourteen, as being men more ſpiritual, and of a more elevated degree, had greater priviledges and indulgences for carnal enjoyments.

This reſtraint of the number of their Wives is certainly no Precept of their Religion, but a rule ſuperinduced upon ſome politick conſiderations, as too great a charge and weakning to mens Eſtates, every one that takes a Wife being obliged to make her a Kabin or Dowry, as we have ſaid before; or elſe for better Regulation of the Oeconomies, and to prevent and abate ſomewhat of the Jealouſies, Strifes, and Embroilments in a Family, which muſt neceſſarily ariſe between ſo many Rivals in the affection of one Husband who is obliged by Law and Covenants to deal and beſtow his benevolence and conjugal kindneſs in an exact proportion of equality. And leſt this confinement to a certain number of Wives, ſhould ſeem a reſtriction and impeachment of that liberty and free uſe of Women which they ſay God hath frankly beſtowed on Man, every one may freely ſerve himſelf of his Women Slaves, with as much variety as he is able to buy or maintain; and this kind of Concubin-

ge

binage is no ways envied or condemned by the Wives, ſo long as they can enjoy their due maintenance, and have ſome reaſonable ſhare in the Husbands Bed, which once a week is their due by the Law; for if any of them hath been neglected the whole week before, ſhe challenges Thurſday night as her due, and hath remedy in that caſe againſt her Husband by the Law; and if ſhe be ſo modeſt as not to ſue him for one weeks default, ſhe is yet ſo ingenious to contrive a ſupply of her wants: And whereas theſe Women are Educated with much retiredneſs from the converſation of men, and conſequently with greater inclinations towards them, and with no principles of virtue, of moral honeſty or Religion, as to a future Eſtate relating to the rewards or puniſhments of their good or bad actions; they are accounted the moſt laſcivious and immodeſt of all Women, and excel in the moſt refined and ingenious ſubtilties to ſteal their pleaſures; And as in Chriſtendom the Husband bears the diſgrace and ſcandal of his Wives incontinency, here the Horns are by the vulgar adjudged to the Father, Brother, and Wives Kindred; the Blood of her Family is tainted and diſhonoured, and the Husband obtaining a Divorce, quits himſelf of his Wife and diſhonour together.

No queſtion but the firſt Inſtitutor of this eaſie Religion, next to the ſatisfaction of his own carnal and effeminate inclination, and this taking freedom amongſt his Diſciples; his main conſideration was the encreaſe of his people by *Polygamy*, knowing that the greatneſs of Empires and Princes conſiſts more in the numbers and multitudes of their People, than the large extent of their Dominions. This freedom (if it may be called ſo) was granted at the beginning of the World for the propagation and encreaſe of Mankind; and the Jews had that permiſſion

permiſſion and indulgence to their looſe and wandring affections; and we read that the Eaſtern parts of the World have abounded with Children of divers Mothers, and but one Father; and that ordinarily a Great Perſonage in *Egypt* hath been attended with an hundred luſty Sons in the Field, proceeding from his own Loins, well Armed, and daring in all attempts of War But yet this courſe thrives not ſo well amongſt the *Turks* as formerly; whether it be thought their accurſed Vice of *Sodomy*, or that God bleſſes not ſo much this State of life, as when the paucity of Mankind induced a ſort of a neceſſity and a plea for it.

But chiefly through the irreconcilable emulation and rivalry which is amongſt many Wives, thoſe Witchcrafts and Sorceries (which in this Country are very frequent) are prepared againſt the envied fruitfulneſs each of other, that either they make an Abortive Birth, or otherwiſe their Children pine and macerate away with ſecret and hidden charms, by which means they are now obſerved not to be ſo fruitful and numerous, as is the Marriage-bed of a ſingle VVife; nor is the family ſo well regulated, and orderly, as under the conduct and good Houſewifry of one VVoman, but contrarily filled with noiſe, brawls and diſſentions, as paſſes the VViſdom of the Husband to become an equal Umpire and Arbitrator of their differences; which conſideration reſtrains many, though otherwiſe inclinable enough to gratifie their Appetites, from incumbring themſelves with ſo great an inconvenience; and I have known ſome, though childleſs, have adhered to a ſingle VVife, and preferred Quiet and Repoſe, before the contentment of their Off-ſpring.

The Children they have by their Slaves, are equally eſteemed with thoſe they have by their Wives; *Neque vero Turcæ minus honoris deferunt natis*

tis ex concubinis aut pellicibus quam ex uxoribus, neque illi minus in bona paterna juris habent, Busbeq; Ep. 1.

But yet with this difference in eſteem of the Law, that unleſs the Father manumiſſes them by his Teſtament, and confers a livelihood upon them by Legacy, they remain to the Charity of their Elder Brother that is born from the Wife, and are his Slaves, and he their Lord and Maſter; and it is with them, as in the Civil Law, *Partus ventrem ſequitur*; So that from the Loins of the ſame Father, may proceed Sons of a ſervile and ignominious condition.

There is alſo another ſort of half Marriage amongſt them, which is called *Kabin*, when a man takes a Wife for a Month, or for a certain limited time: and an agreement is made for the Price before the *Cadee* or Judg: and this Strangers oftentimes uſe, who have not the Gift of Continency, and are deſirous to find a Wife in all places where they travel, and is the ſame which they term in *Spain* to be *Emancibado*, or *Caſado de Media Carta*, only the act there is not made allowable by the Laws as in *Turkey*.

There is another ſort of Marriages commonly uſed amongſt the *Turks* (if we may give it that honourable Title) which is the conjunction of an Eunuch with a Woman; ſuch as are wholly diſarmed of all parts of virility, do notwithſtanding take many Wives, and exerciſe Luſts of an unknown and prodigious nature.

There is alſo one point or reſtriction of Matrimony in the *Turkiſh* Religion which is obſervable; that is, a *Mahometan* may marry himſelf with what Woman ſoever, though eſteemed an Infidel,

as a Chriſtian, Jew, or any other different profeſſion, ſo it be of thoſe who are of a Learned Religion of which Books are wrote to defend and maintain it; but ſuch Women as are of a Religion which hath nothing in it of Learning or of written Law, as the Sect of *Meiuzee*, who adore the Fire, conſerving it always burning in their Temples, and are to be found in the parts of *Perſia*, but principally in ſome Countries of the *Mogul*; and alſo the Gipſie Women are prohibited (of which great numbers are amongſt the *Turks*:) a Vagabond people without Religion, but what is fabulous and ridiculous; and having no Literature or knowledg amongſt them, are reputed as abominable amongſt the *Turks*.

And here the *Turks* upon occaſional diſcourſes of the ſeverity and ſtrictneſs of the Chriſtian Diſcipline in matters of Concupiſcence, telling them that no Copulation is allowable but in the Marriage-Bed, and that reſtrained and confined to one Wife, without the additions of Slaves to ſatisfie with variety the corrupted fancy; that the very thoughts of Luſt and Concupiſcence pollute the purity of the Soul; *And that whoſoever looks on a Woman to Luſt after her, commits Adultery in his heart*; They preſently deride theſe our Precepts and our Laws, which Chriſtians not only by their actions and corrupted lives contemn as invalid, but Authority it ſelf not by a ſimple connivence only, but by indulgence and priviledges, foments and encourages perſons walking contrary to that which is confeſſed to be an indiſpenſable Law. For proof whereof they mention the Stews of *Italy*, Whoredom made an allowable Trade and Profeſſion in *Venice*, *Naples*, and the City of *Rome*, and the *Gantoneras* in *Spain*, and framed into a Politick Body

dy (as it is related and apprehended by the *Turks*) from whence Taxes and Impoſitions are raiſed: The *Turks* comprehend not the Politick grounds hereof, with which in *Italy* this Maxim is defended; nor is it fitting to produce the reaſons, or argue it with them; ſince the benefit which accrues to the *Roman* Church, and the Profits that ariſe thence, being employed in maintenance of Gallies and Forces againſt Infidels, is the beſt can be ſaid to hallow this permiſſion; but 'tis an improper argument with a *Turk* to excuſe this Licenſe and Authority to ſin, upon conſiderations of being better able to War againſt the Profeſſors of his Religion. And therefore the *Turk* will hardly be convinced but that this manner of Concubinage hath much more of Sanctity, Order and Policy in it, as being free from Diſeaſes and Foulneſs, than the wandring Luſts of Stews, or Impudence of *Corteſans*, made bold and hard-foreheaded by conceſſion of Authority.

Pudet hæc oppropria Nobis
Ea dici potuiſſe, &c.

Amongſt all the priviledges that the *Sultan* enjoys above his Subjects, this one hath leſs than they, that he cannot marry; but yet he hath as many Women as ſerves his uſe, though never ſo libidinous, or are requiſite for the Oſtentation and great Magnificence of his Court, according to the cuſtom of the Eaſtern Princes, who placed a great part of their Pomp in the multitude of their Women. This diſuſe of Marriage in the *Sultan*, hath been a Maxim of ſtate, and reckoned amongſt the *Turks*, *inter Arcana Imperii*, from the time of *Bajazet* until this very Age: the reaſons hereof are diverſly related. *Busbequius* ſaith, That *Bajazet* after the great Vi-

ctory obtained againſt him by *Tamerlane*, to his other great Misfortunes and Diſgraces, had this one added, of having his Wife *Deſpina*, whom he dearly loved, to fall into the hands of the Conqueror, whoſe ignominious and undecent treatment before the eyes of her Husband, was a matter of more diſhonour and ſorrow, than all the reſt of his afflictions: So that ever ſince that time, the *Sultans* to free themſelves from being capable of that diſgrace on occaſion of like fortune, take no feminine companion of their Empire in whom they may be more concerned than as in Slaves, or the loſs of Goods, Riches, or Eſtate. But in my opinion, this Policy is of a deeper reach and deſign, than the conſiderations of matters ſo meerly poſſible; for as I have heard, the only ſign and ceremony of a *Sultans* making a Wife, is the endowing her with Riches agreeable to her condition and quality, not called *Kabin*, which is *Dowry*, but *Paſhmaluck* or Mony for her Shooes; which, beſides Preſents, Jewels, and Rich Garments for her ſelf, and great attendance, her Revenue ought to be equal to that of a *Valede* or Mother of the Grand Signior, which is four or five hundred thouſand Dollars yearly Rent; ſo that were this cuſtom in uſe, and meeting with the diſpoſition of ſome Princes that are Amorous and Prodigal, the chief Revenue of the Empire would be expended in the Chambers of Women, and diverted from the true Channels in which the Channel ought to run for nouriſhment of the Politick body of the Commonwealth. Beſides, were it the cuſtom for *Sultans* to take Wives, it would contradict that main principle of Policy amongſt them, of avoiding Alliances and Relations of the Grand Signior abroad. And this was the principal reaſon of the murder of *Sultan Oſman*, tenth Emperor of the

the *Turks*, contrived by the Rebellion and Toleration of the Soldiery: it being objected that he had married a *Sultanà*, whereby he had contracted Alliances, contrary to the fundamental Conſtitutions of the Empire.

The tye and ſolemnity of Marriage, and the nature thereof amongſt the *Turks*, is as before related: from which the Woman hath no ways to unlooſe her ſelf, whilſt the Husband maintains her with Bread, Butter, Rice, Wood, and Flax to ſpin for her Cloathing; the Law ſuppoſes her ſo induſtrious a Houſewife as with her own labour to ſupply her ſelf: there are ſome other points pleadable in Law for Divorce in behalf of the Woman, as impotency, or frigidity in the Husband, and the like, but the man hath divers means to acquit himſelf, aud can do it by ſeveral allegations; and may upon as eaſie terms, and on as light grounds ſue out his Divorce, as was permitted to the *Jews* in caſes of diſlike, or that ſhe found no favour in his eyes.

There are amongſt the *Turks* three degrees of Divorce, every one of which is made before the *Kadee* or Juſtice, and by him drawn out and regiſtred. The firſt ſeparates the Man and Wife only from the ſame Houſe and Bed, the maintenance of a VVife being ſtill continued; The ſecond not only divides them in that manner, but the Husband is compelled to make good her *Kabin*, which is a Joynture or Dowry promiſed at her Marriage, ſo as to have no intereſt either in him or his Eſtate, and to remain in a free condition to marry another. The third ſort of Divorce which is called (*Ouch Talac*) is made in a ſolemn and more ſerious manner, with more rigorous terms of ſeparation, and in this caſe the Husband repenting of his Divorce, and deſirous to re-take his VVife, cannot by the Law be admitted to her without firſt conſenting and contenting himſelf

ſelf to ſee another man enjoy her before his face; which condition the Law requires as a puniſhment of the Husbands lightneſs and inconſtancy, and as an evidence to ſhew that tho the *Turkiſh* Law is very indulgent and open in the free choice and enjoyment of Women, yet that it puniſhes ſuch as unadviſedly fruſtrate the ſolemn points thereof, with remarkable notes of infamy and diſgrace. Notwithſtanding ſome afterwards repenting of their Divorce, have been contented with the condition, and have choſen ſome handſome Youth to enter into the Bed of their Wife. It is a merry Story that is told of one, who in this caſe being put to a great ſtreight, reſolved to call the firſt man he conveniently met, to this Office, that ſo as one unknown his Reputation might be the leſs concerned: the man he firſt lighted on, happened to be a *Kaickgee* or Boat-man, who it ſeems ſo well ſatisfied and pleaſed the Wife, that ſhe afterwards renounced all intereſt in her Husband, and reſolved to adhere to her new Lover, of whom ſhe ſuppoſed ſhe had ſufficient proof and acquaintance with already to eſteem a better Husband than her former. There are but few amongſt the *Turks*, tho ſome are found, who ſo heartily repent of their Divorce, and ſo fond of their ſeparated Wives, as to be contented to take them with the foregoing Condition: for it is reputed a kind of an Abomination; and when they would ſignifie any matter far alienated, or eſtranged, they all call it (*Ouch Talac*) ſomething ſo divided and ſeparated as to be a Sin and Prophanation ſo much as to covet or deſire it.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

Of the other parts of the Turkiſh *Religion.*

Of Circumciſion.

CIrcumciſion is not reckoned amongſt one of the five Points which conſtitute a true *Mahometan* believer, but 'tis only (as we have ſaid before) propoſed as a tryal and proof of mans obedience to the more neceſſary parts of the Law. This Rite of Circumciſion is not received by them as an Article or Precept delivered expreſly from the *Alchoran*, but by tradition and ancient practice and uſe amongſt the *Arabians*, before the time of *Mahomet*, derived originally from *Iſhmael* or *Eſau*, whoſe Progeny they are, and from thence give themſelves the name of *Iſhmaelites*. The *Arabian* Doctors affirm that *Mahomet* himſelf was born with his Navel cut, and naturally circumciſed; perhaps to equal the ſame Story which the Jews report of *Moſes*, and ſome others of the Patriarchs; and it ſeems in thoſe Countries where Circumciſion is in practice, that it is not unuſual Children to be ſo born; who are therefore called Sons of the Moon, on whom the verrue of the Moon hath more than ordinary manner of influence. *Credebant ſiquidem Arabes, quod ille qui ſub lunæ radiis naſceretur, contrahi perinde ac circumciſum præputium.* *Pocokii nota de Arabum moribus.*

The *Turks* never circumciſe their Childeren until the age of ſeven years and upwards; and then they do it by a Barber or Chirurgion, it not being eſteem-

ed a matter appropriated to the Office of the *Emaum* or Prieſt; for (as we have ſaid before) they make no ſuch diſtinction as Clergy and Laity; I mean, as to any ſpiritual Character of Prieſthood; for a man may cry upon the Steeple to day, and like their Paſtor be the firſt to lead his Congregation to their Prayers, and expound the *Alchoran* in the Pulpit; and next day be expelled his Pariſh, and become free to any other ſecular Employment or Profeſſion: They obſerve ſome Ceremonies amongſt them on this occaſion, often differing according to the Countrey and place: but commonly the child is ſet on Horſeback in his beſt Cloaths attended with his School-fellows and Companions, who with loud ſhouts repeat ſome words in the *Alchoran*; and being brought home, and the act of Circumciſion performed, he is carefully attended for his Cure, and in the mean time there is a Feaſt or Banquet prepared for the Gueſts; thoſe who of riper years become *Mahometans* in ſome places are carried about the Town on Horſe back, with a Dart in their left hand pointing to their heart, ſignifying that they will rather ſuffer themſelves to be paſſed through with that Inſtrument, than renounce that Faith they then profeſs. And this Circumciſion is an admiſſion and introduction of them into the number of the Faithful, as it is amongſt the Jews, and Baptiſm with the Chriſtians.

Ceremonies at the Circumciſion

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the five neceſſary Points which are required to conſtitute a true Mahometan.

Of their Waſhings.

THough *Mahomet* ſaith in the *Alchoran* that his Religion is founded in Cleanneſs, and that it is half of his Law; yet much before *Mahomet*'s time Waſhings were obſerved according to the ſame preſcriptions by the *Arabians*, who deſcending from *Iſhmael*, maintained by tradition the practice of Waſhings: and he had no other ſhare in this invention, than that it was enforced by his Authority on the Profeſſors of his Sect. The *Turks* are certainly a very cleanly people in their exteriour manner of living; as in their Waſhings relating to their holy exerciſes and duties, they are very preciſe and ſuperſtitious; ſome of them believing that the very water purifies them from the foulneſs of their ſins, as well as from the uncleanneſs of their bodies: There being three ſorts of Waſhings obſerved by them.

The firſt is called *Abdeſt*, which is a preparation for their Prayers, entring the *Moſch*, or reading the *Alchoran*; they firſt waſh their hands and arms, then their neck, their forehead, the crown of their head, their ears, their teeth, the face, under the noſe, and laſt of all their feet; but if the weather be cold, and not convenient to uncover them, it is ſufficient, if they make ſome evidence thereof by any other outward ſignification. The

The ſecond is called *Guſul*, which is the cleanſing of the Bath after copulation or nocturnal pollutions; until which time a man is called *Giunub*, that is, his prayers are accounted abominable before God, and his Society to be avoided by Men.

The third is *Taharet*, which is a Waſhing after the eaſe or evacuation of nature; to this homely office they deſign the three laſt fingers of the left hand; and upon this account they call Chriſtians *Taharatſis*, which is as much as one defiled and impure for want of this manner of cleanſing. And waſhing is ſo uſual and frequent amongſt them both before and after Meat, as hath cauſed a common Proverb amongſt them, *That God hath created Meat, that men may have occaſion often to waſh their hands.*

Secondly, *Of their Prayers.*

After their Waſhing follow their Prayers, which *Mahomet* to recommend to his Diſciples the force and vertue of Prayer, calls it in his *Alchoran* the Pillar of Religion, and the Key of Paradiſe, and enjoined the performance five times in the ſpace of twenty four hours, *viz.* between the day-breaking and Sun-riſing, called *Sabanamaſee*. Secondly, at Noon, called *Ulemanaſee*. Thirdly, at the middle hour, between the Noon and the ſetting of the Sun, called *Kindinamaſee*. Fourthly, at Sun-ſetting, called *Acſhanamaſee*. Fifthly, at an hour and half in the night, called *Yachinamaſee*; this action they perform with very much reverence and devotion, and hold that they ought to be ſo intent and fixed in their thoughts on this religious act towards God, that no buſineſs of the World, though the execution of the *Sultans* Decree ſhould in the ſame moment be commanded, or fire ſhould burſt forth in the very Chamber where they remain, or an armed

ed Enemy within their Gates or Camp, they ought not yet to be diverted, or break abruptly off their Prayers, to extinguiſh or oppoſe themſelves againſt their inevitable Deſtruction; nay, if they do but Cough, or Spit, or Sneeze, or rub any part of their Face, or Hands, where a Fly bites, during their Prayers, they muſt begin them again, for they are void, and eſteemed to be of no effect. It is much in my Opinion that Infidels ſhould be poſſeſſed with that awe and ſenſe of the Divine Majeſty in the time of their Audience with him; and yet that Friers and others of the *Roman* Church obliged to their Office, as the *Turk* to his *Namas*, ſhould perform it ſo perfunctorily, as to mix the diſcourſe of buſineſs with the Repetition of their Breviary, and joyn with their Reſponſals, Anſwers and Reſolutions of queſtions are made them; and ſo ſatisfie themſelves in the *Opus operatum*, as if it were more important to comply with his command who impoſed the Office, than with his who primarily enjoyned the ſacrifice of prayer.

The form of their Prayers is not extracted out of the *Alchoran*, only the Collections of Sentences, as in the Name of God, God is Great and Merciful, and the like, are deduced from thence (as Chriſtians do from the fountain of the Holy Scriptures) the reſt is compiled by the four Doctors we have before mentioned, *viz. Ebbubecher*, *Omar*, *Ozman*, and *Ali*; whoſe names are wrote in golden Characters on the Walls of moſt *Moſchs:* Herein they obſerve many poſtures and geſtures of their Body; as placing their hands one on the other before them, bending the body, kneeling, touching the Ground with their forehead, moving the head to each ſide, and the like; in which it is difficult to make diſtinction of thoſe meerly invented and ordained by *Mahomet*, from thoſe which were primarily in uſe amongſt

amongſt the ancient *Arabians*: But that the orderly Ceremonies in their Prayers may be better deſcribed, it will be to our purpoſe to hear what *Buſbequius* relates of the whole *Turkiſh* Army, whom he had ſeen drawn up orderly in the Field at their Devotion. *Epiſt.* 3. *I ſaw* (ſaid he) *in that Plain, a great multitude of Heads folded up in Turbants, who with profound ſilence attended to the words of a Prieſt their Conductor; all of them being drawn up in rank and file, and covering with their extended Orders the whole Plain, ſeemed to have framed a Wall or Bulwark by the regular diſpoſition of their Bodies: their Cloathings were of light colours, and their Turbants comparable to the whiteneſs of the Snow, and the variety of the different colours of their Garments, fed the eyes with a ſtrange pleaſure: in this manner ſo immovable they ſtood, as if they had grown in the place where their feet were fixed, no coughing, hemming, nor voice was heard, nor ſo much as any motion was perceived of their heads; every one at the name of* Mahomet *pronounced by the Prieſt, bowed his head to his knees; and at the name of God reverently proſtrated himſelf, and kiſſed the Earth: and thus the* Turks *with devout ceremony and profound attention perform their whole Duties; ſuppoſing that Prayer to become fruitleſs, which is interrupted by ſcratching the Head, rubbing the Hands, or any other geſture not eſſential to their Prayer.* But of all Nations and Religions that I have known, they are the moſt hypocrital; they are thoſe who love to pray in the Market-place, and in the Corners of the Streets, to have praiſe of Men; for it is obſervable with the *Turks*, that where they find the moſt Spectators, eſpecially of Chriſtians, to chuſe that place how inconvenient ſoever, to ſpread firſt their Handkerchief, and then begin their Prayers. The ſubſtance of their Prayers conſiſts for the moſt part in praiſes of the Divine Power and Attributes; mixing therewith Petitions

for

for the ſafety of his Prince and his Dominions, and for Diſſention and Wars amongſt Chriſtians, which part they conceive God hath greatly gratified them in, and rejoycing upon the rumours of Wars and diſturbances in Chriſtendom, as an effect of the Divine facility and conceſſion to their Prayers: They know well by experience, what *Tacitus* reports of the *Roman* Policy; That, *Omne ſcelus externum cum lætitia habendum, ſemina etiam odiorum incende*; and as the *Romans* deſtined *Armænia* to be a prize held up, and the Stage alſo, on which the Tragedy of the ruine of the Eaſtern Nations were to be acted, *Eandem Armeniam ſpecie largitionis turbandis barbarorum animis præbuerint*; ſo the *Turks* forbore for ſeveral years the total Conqueſt of the Provinces of *Tranſilvania*, *Moldavia*, and *Valachia*, reſerving them for the *Cadmean* Fields, wherein the *Hungarians*, *Germans*, *Polonians*, and the People of thoſe Countries themſelves might deſtroy one the other, and make his entrance to the poſſeſſion of them the more facile, and leſs bloody. *Lib.* 12. *Hiſt.*

Thirdly, *Of their* Ramazan.

The third neceſſary point of their Religion, is the obſervation of the Month of *Ramazan*, or a Faſt in that whole Month, in which time they can neither eat, drink, or take any thing in their Mouths, whilſt the Sun is above the *Horizon*; afterwards, upon ſhutting in of the Evening, that the *Emaum* lights the Lamps, which in that Month are expoſed round the Steeple of every *Moſch*, they have liberty to eat: moſt part of the night they ſpend in Feaſting, reſerving commonly their greateſt Delicacies and beſt Proviſions for the conſolation of that Faſt; their buſineſs and employments they attend moſt to in the night, paſſing the day as over-tedious in ſleeping,

ing, ſo that their Faſt is nothing but a changing the day into night. This Month they call ſacred and holy, and the time when the Gates of Paradiſe are opened, and of Hell are ſhut: and ſo ſtrict is the impoſition of this Faſt, that it is no leſs than Death for a *Turk* to be accuſed of the breach thereof. In this Month to drink Wine is eſteemed an inexpiable Crime; and ſuch who give themſelves that liberty at other times, do yet, not to give ſcandal, abſtain from it fourteen days before the beginning of this Month: and Women, and other of the more ſuperſtitious ſort, begin fifteen days their Faſt before it is enjoyned by the Precept of their Prophet. But ſuch as are ſick, or have any infirmity, or are travellers in their journey, have a permiſſion to eat; but with that condition, as to remain obliged at other times of their health and convenience to make good thoſe days of the *Ramazan*, of which they remain indebted to the performance of their Law.

The Inſtitutions of this Month of *Ramazan*, proceeded from *Mahomet* himſelf, in the ſecond year of his Prophetick Office, which he did not aſſume until he had fully compleated forty years, having before in imitation of the Jews Faſt of *Aſhura*, *Levit.* 16. *ver.* 29. in memory of the overthrow of *Pharaoh* and his Hoſt in the Red-Sea, enjoined to the *Arabians* the ſame time of Abſtinence: but afterwards apprehending it diſhonourable to be beholding to the Jews for the invention of a Faſt, inſtituted the *Ramazan*, the time of which is governed by the courſe of the Moon, and falls out commonly ten days ſooner than in the preceding year, ſo that this Faſt with time comes to run through all the Months, & is more eaſie to the *Turks* when it happens in the ſhort days of the Winter, rather than in the Summer, when the days are long and hot, which become

Mr. *Pocock*, *Notæ de Arabum moribus*.

come tedious to the ordinary ſort of people, who for neceſſity are forced to labour, and yet for the quenching thirſt dare not refreſh their mouths with a drop of water.

Fourthly, *Of their Zacat.*

Which is another neceſſary point to the conſtitution of a *Mahometan*, which is the beſtowing Alms according to certain rules preſcribed by four principal Doctors of their Law: the word *Zacat* ſignifies as much as Encreaſe, becauſe the Alms procure the bleſſing of God, and multiply the ſtore of the Merciful. According to this command every man is obliged to give one in a hundred of all their Eſtate to the relief of the poor; and tho this Precept is enjoined as an ingredient to conſtitute a true *Mahometan*, yet covetouſneſs and Policy ſo much prevail with the *Turks*, that the Rich are both unwilling to part with ſo much of their Eſtate, and fearful to evidence their Wealth by a true calculate according to the *Zacat*; ſo that the Poor are the beſt obſervers of this injunction, the Rich conceiving it ſuperfluous, and never intended by God to make the performance of Religion a ſnare to their Eſtates.

Fifthly, *Of their Pigrimage to* Mecha.

Which is enjoyned to every one who hath Riches and Freedom from great Offices and Charges of Government, to perform it; being a Type or ſignification of their paſſage out of this world into the next. The number of thoſe who yearly undertake this Pilgrimage is uncertain, though moſt commonly are regiſtred from divers parts where the *Mahometan* Religion is profeſſed, above Fifty Thouſand Souls; theſe Pilgrims depart about the latter end of *May* from

from *Conſtantinople*, & meet with thoſe from *Anatolia*, *Caramania*, and others of that quarter of the World at *Damaſcus*: thoſe from *Perſia* aſſemble at *Babylon*: thoſe of the parts of *Egypt* at *Grand Cairo*, and all unite upon a Mount not far diſtant from *Mecha*, where they obſerve divers Ceremonies, as making *Corban* or Sacrifice, which they do by killing Sheep, and ſending part thereof as Preſents to their Friends, and diſtribution thereof amongſt the Poor. They alſo here ſtrip themſelves of their Garments, and being covered only with a Blanket, go in proceſſion through the Mountain, in ſignification that they muſt now leave all their ſins and affections of the VVorld behind them. Here alſo they leave their Chriſtian Slaves, that ſo they may not prophane the Holy City with the Uncircumciſed.

The chief Commander over the Pilgrims (for amongſt ſo conſiderable a number of people, there muſt be rule and Government) is appointed by the Grand Signior, and is called *Sur-Emini*, by whom he ſends 500 *Zechins*, an *Alchoran* Emboſſed with Gold, carried on a *Camel*, and as much black Cloth as ſerves for Hangings for the *Moſchs* at *Mecha*; and this is yearly preſented from the *Sultan* to that place: when the new Hanging is ſet up, that of the former year is pulled down, and is by the Pilgrims torn in pieces: ſome getting more and ſome leſs, carry any r ag of it home, as a Relique and token of their Pilgrimage, which ſerves them in place of the *Caabe*, to which they turn their faces at the time of their Prayers. The *Camel* which carried the *Alchoran*, at his return home is decked with flowers and other ornaments, and having performed this holy Journey, is ever after exempted from all labour and ſervice.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIV.

Of the Bairam *and Ceremonies uſed at that time by the chief Officers to the* Grand Signior.

THE *Bairam* is the Feaſt of the *Turks*, of which there are two in the year; one immediately following the Faſt of *Ramazan*, as our *Eaſter* doth the *Lent*, which is called the great *Bairam*; the other is the little *Bairam*, which happens about ſeventy days after the former; at which time the people for three days ceaſe from their labour: preſent one the other, rejoice and take greater liberty than at other times; which no queſtion but was invented by *Mahomet*, for relaxation of the bodies and minds of his Followers, as well as in imitation of the Chriſtian Feaſts.

The *Bairam* is then conceived to begin at the firſt appearance of the new Moon after the *Ramazan*; which is ſometime deferred a days time, if the weather prove cloudy, that the Moon is not viſible; if longer the Sky be obſcured, according to the courſe of nature, it is preſumed that the Moon is begun, and ſo their Feaſt begins alſo; which is publiſhed at *Conſtantinople* by the diſcharge of the great Guns at the point of the *Seraglio* upon the Sea-ſhore, at which time the Lights or Lamps on the Steeples of the *Moſchs* are extinguiſhed or omitted to be lighted, and Drums and Trumpets are ſounded in all publick places of the City, and Courts of great Perſons: ſo that every one betakes

ſelf to Mirth or Paſtime as his own inclination or convenience leads him.

But that which will be moſt curious to the obſervation of the judicious Reader, is, the relation of the Ceremonies uſed in the *Seraglio* at this Feaſt by the ſeveral Officers of State to the Grand Signior, and to one another; which are ſo formal, preciſe, and conſtant to the leaſt motion of every Member of the Body, as will clear the *Turks* from that opinion which paſſes of them in the World, of being rude, uncivil, and void of all Ceremony or Courtſhip in their comportment and behaviour; which according to the beſt information I could procure, is for the moſt part in this manner:

The Antiport leading to the Lodgings of the *Kapa Agaſi* (or chief Eunuch who commands the Pages) being adorned with rich Carpets, Cuſhions, and other Furniture after their faſhion, on the *Vigil* or *Eve* before the *Bairam*, all the Prime Officers of State belonging to the Empire then at *Conſtantinople*, aſſemble themſelves at the Grand Signiors *Seraglio* three or four hours before day, where as ſoon as day breaks, the Grant Signior mounted on Horſeback, paſſes through the midſt of them, and goes to the *Moſchs* of *Santa Sophia*, where having ſaid his morning Prayer, he returns again to the *Seraglio*.

Being returned, he enters the *Haſoda* or Royal Chamber, and ſetting himſelf in his Seat of State, having the chief Eunuch of the Pages on his left hand, the Sons of the *Tartar Han* (which remain for Hoſtages in the *Turkiſh* Court) upon ſigns made to them, are the firſt who preſent themſelves before him to wiſh him a happy Feſtival; whom (as I have heard reported) he walks three Paces to meet, and they proſtrating themſelves, ſay, *Eiamiſcherif*, which is, *May theſe days be happy*; and ariſing

kiſs

kiſs his hand, and ſo retire. The next who makes his addreſs, is the Prime Viſier, who ſtanding on the right hand of the Grand Signior in the front of all the *Beglerbegs*, *Paſhaws*, and other great Officers, Complements the Grand Signior upon one knee, and nearer approaching, kiſſes his hand, and then ariſing takes the ſtation of the *Kapa Agaſi*, or Eunuch of the Pages. The next who follows in this Ceremony is the *Mufti*, who on the left hand fronts the Officers and principal Heads of the Law; as the *Kadeleſcheres* or Lords chief Juſtices of *Anatolia* and *Greece*, the *Nakib Eſchref*, principal Head or Primate of the Kindred of *Mahomet*, the *Mollahs*, Preachers called *Seighs*, and others. Then the *Mufti* bowing his head to the ground, holding his hands on his Girdle, kiſſes him on the left ſhoulder, and the Grand Signior ſteps one pace forward to meet him, and ſo retires to his place; then all the others in their ſeveral Orders take their turns to paſs this Ceremony, who are treated according to what the Prime Viſier informs the Grand Signior; for ſome kiſs his Hand, others the hem of his Veſt, ſome his Sleeve, others his Breaſt, thereafter as their Quality and Authority is, which is ſo full of variety and formal niceties, that there is a Book wrote expreſly treating of all the particularities of this Ceremony. The laſt of all who is called to perform his Complement, is the *Janizar Agaſi*, or the General of the *Janizaries*.

This part being thus far paſſed, the Grand Signior enters into a more retired Chamber of the *Seraglio*, where the *Arz Agalar*, or the four principal Pages are the firſt of the Court to do their obeyſance as before: then follow the Eunuchs and other Pages; In the mean time a Dinner is provided in the Chamber of the *Divan*, where the Officers of State having complied with their obligation, take

a plentiful repaſt at the Grand Signiors charge; after which the Grand Signior makes a preſent to each of the ſixteen principal Officers of Sable Veſts, with which the Ceremony concludes.

Then is way made for the Coaches of the *Soltanaes*, who having been Cloyſtered in the old *Seraglio* the whole year before, are glad at the Feaſt of *Bairam* to have occaſion to make their Viſits to the Grand Signior in the firſt place, as being of his Kindred and Relations, and then to the Queen or Queen-Mother, and to the other *Soltanaes* and Ladies, with whom they uſe variety of Ceremony according to their Condition and Quality; and there have liberty to remain for the ſpace of three days in Banqueting, and other divertiſements of Muſick and Diſcourſe.

It may well be obſerved from the premiſes, how generally the World is miſtaken in the opinion is conceived of the Courtſhip uſed amongſt the *Turks*, commonly reputed by Travellers to be rude, coming much ſhort of that quaintneſs, bowings, cringings, and reverent poſtures uſed in *Chriſtendom*: It is true the *Turks* deportment even in the moſt vile and mechanick vulgar, though never ſo mean, is carried with a ſtrange kind of barbarity and rudeneſs towards the beſt of Chriſtians in thoſe parts; which proceeds rather from a ſort of pride and deteſtation taught them by their Religion, than from any want of being inſtructed in their duty of due reverence to their Superiours; for in their carriage one towards the other, they obſerve the rules and niceties of Complement with as much variety and exactneſs, as is exerciſed in *Rome*, or the moſt civilized Courts of Chriſtendom; and amongſt the chief Miniſters there is much preciſeneſs and caution uſed not to exceed the limits of that Ceremony which inferiours owe the ſuperiours, leſt they ſhould diſparage

their

their own quality, or give occaſion to the World to believe their diſorderly ſubmiſſion to be a part of adulation. And therefore it is worthy the ſtudy of Chriſtian Miniſters employed in Embaſſies in the *Ottoman* Court, to be well informed in the rules and manner of their carriage in the preſence of the chief Miniſters of State; for uncovering the head, as in *Chriſtendom*, is amongſt them eſteemed ridiculous and affrontive, and the manner of little bowings and often inclinations of the body, taken as acknowledgments of the great diſtance there is between the Maſters they repreſent; and therefore a little Ceremony at the entrance, and the like at departure, with a ſteady and conſtant behaviour at the time of the Treaty or Diſcourſe, is the beſt rule for a Chriſtian Miniſter; which is interpreted amongſt *Turks* as the effect of gravity and eſtimation of themſelves; it being certain, that the contrary hath cauſed many Chriſtan Miniſters to fall lower in the reputation of the *Turks*, than they had deſerved for their wiſdom and dexterity in the management of the more ſubſtantial points of Affairs.

CHAP. XXV.

Of the Prohibition of Swines Fleſh and Wine.

THE five foregoing Principles already treated of are (as we have ſaid before) the eſſential points required towards the conſtitution of a true *Mahometan*; other matters are proofs and trials of their obedience; amongſt which none is more enjoined than the prohibition of Swines fleſh and Wine: which are called *Haram*, things abominable and forbidden. The firſt in reality abhorred by them, and as diſpleaſing as the Fleſh of a Man to civilized People, or a Dogs thigh to ſuch as have been uſed to Delicacies and wholſome Viands. But Wine of late years, though forbidden by the Law, hath gained a better reputation; and though accurſed by them, is yet accounted of ſo ſtrong a temptation, that the ſin is the more excuſable; and tho the *Alchoran* poſitively inhibits the uſe thereof, and the Expoſitors of the Law have ſo far removed it from all poſſibility of becoming lawful, that they have determined that if Wine be ſpilt on the ground, and in that place Graſs grows, and with that paſture a Sheep or an Ox is nouriſhed, thoſe Cattel become *Haram*, and are as abominable as the Fleſh of Swine.

But notwithſtanding the ſevere Prohibitions hereof by their Religion, Wine is ſo commonly uſed, that it is publickly drank without cautions or fear of giving ſcandal; the great Men, becauſe in Office, are

are more careful how the World diſcovers what delight they take in that liquor, leſt the miſcarriages of their Office ſhould be attributed to the exceſs of Wine; or their knowledge of the uſe of that which deprives them of their reaſon, render them uncapable of their Truſt and Dignity. For the *Turks* account it impoſſible to drink Wine with moderation, and are ignorant of the benefit of it for Concoction of crude humours and indigeſtions of the ſtomach; and wonder to ſee it by *Engliſh*, *French*, or *Italians* tempered with Water; for unleſs they may drink it with full Bowls, and have ſufficient thereof, to give them their *Kaif*, (as they call it) that is to tranſport them into a diſſolute mirth, or the ridiculous actions of drunkenneſs, or to a ſurfeit or a vomit, they eſteem it not worth the drinking, and a provocation to the appetite and palate to remain with a deſire of demanding more.

But ſuch as would appear Religious amongſt them, and are ſuperſtitious, moroſe, and haters of Chriſtians, abſtain wholly from Wine, and are of a Stoical pride, melancholy temper, and cenſorious of the whole World. Theſe men who drink only Water and Coffee, enter into Diſcourſes of State matters, cenſure the Actions, and paſs Characters on the Grandees and great Officers; *Aſſumta Stoicorum arrogantia, Sectaq; quæ turbidos, & negotiorum appetentes faciat. Tac. lib.* 14. And this was the reaſon why the great Viſier *Kuperli*, put down the Coffee-houſes in *Conſtantinople*, and yet priviledged the Taverns; becauſe the firſt were melancholy places where Seditions were vented, where reflections were made on all occurrences of State, & diſcontents publiſhed and aggravated; but Wine raiſed the ſpirits of men to a gay humour, and would never operate thoſe effects to endanger his condition, as the Councels which were contrived in the Aſſemblies of

thoſe who addicted themſelves to a more melancholy Liquor.

The drinking Wine in young Men is eſteemed amongſt the extravagancies of Youth, but in old men is a crime more undecent, and ſcandalous in a higher degree. But why *Mahomet* ſhould ſo ſeverely forbid the uſe of VVine to his Diſciples, is recounted in a Fable on this occaſion; That their Prophet being once invited by a Friend to an entertainment at his houſe, chanced in his way thither to be detained a while at a Nuptial Feaſt, where the Gueſts raiſed with the chearful ſpirits of the VVine, were merry, embracing, and in a kind temper each towards other; which pleaſing humour *Mahomet* attributing to the effect of the VVine, bleſſed it as a ſacred thing, and ſo departed. But it happened that in the evening returning again, and expecting to ſee the love and careſſes he had before bleſſed, to be augmented, he found the houſe to the contrary, full of Brawls and noiſe, fightings, and all confuſion; which he alſo having underſtood to be another effect of the VVine, changed his former Bleſſing into a Curſe, and for ever after made it *Haram*, or an abomination to his Diſciples.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of their Morality, Good Works, and ſome certain of their Laws worthy of obſervation.

THough according to the preceding Diſcourſe, the Character that may thence reſult from the nature and temperance of the *Turks*, doth not promiſe any long Treatiſe concerning their deep Morality, Vertues, and elevated Graces: yet in the minds of all Mankind, tho' never ſo barbarous, God having wrought the Law of Nature, and made that impreſſion of doing right to our Neighbour, which tends towards conſervation of the VVorld; we may well expect to find the ſame Principles in the *Turks*; eſpecially their Victories and Spoils abroad, having procured them converſation with other Nations, and their VVars and Treaties with Chriſtians, having refined their minds in a good part of that rude temper they brought with them out of *Scythia*, it will not be ſtrange for us to find amongſt them, men whom Education hath made civil, poliſhed in all points of vertuous deportment, and made *Heroes* of their Age; though I muſt confeſs I cannot applaud the generality of this people with ſo high encomiums, as I have read in the Books of ſome ingenious Travellers, and do believe without partiality that they come ſhort of the good nature and vertues are to be found in moſt parts of *Chriſtendom*. Howſoever, wherein they conceive a great part of charity is placed, and meritorious VVorks, it will not be unworthy nor unpleaſant to conſider.

And

And in the firſt place, they eſteem it a good work to build Houſes, though from thence they obtain a Rent, becauſe it is a habitation for thoſe who have no Lands or Eſtates, to have them of their own: But eſpecially ſuch as are Princes and great Men, who build *Chans* or Inns, which are receptacles for Travellers at night, are ranked in the firſt Order of ſacred Benefactors, and are bleſſed and prayed for by the weary Gueſts, who have found repoſe and refreſhment through their Munificence: and in theſe Buildings the *Turks* are extraordinary Magnificent in moſt parts of the Empire, having united to many of them a ſtately *Moſch*, Baths, and Shops for Artiſans and Trades-men to ſupply all the neceſſities of the Travellers; and ſome of them are ſo endowed, that every night the Gueſts are entertained at free coſt with a convenient Supper, be their number more or leſs according as the *Chan* is capable to receive. The form of theſe Buildings is for the moſt part according to the model of the higheſt and ſtatelieſt of our Halls, covered with Lead, though not altogether ſo high Roofed; yet ſome I have obſerved for their breadth and length very Magnificent; yet by reaſon that they have been ſomewhat lower, have only in that come ſhort of the pride of the ſtatelieſt Fabricks: though in few of them are Apartments for different Companies, yet every one is ſufficiently retired, having at a convenient diſtance different Chimnies for all parties of Gueſts to dreſs their Meat, and in the Winter for their Fire; the greateſt incovenience to Men of watchful ſpirits, and uſed to quiet retirements, is the want of ſleep, which until I have been over-tired with labour, and accuſtomed thereto by divers days Journies, hath been always a ſtranger to my eyes, by reaſon of the moleſtation of various Companies, ſome of which are always awake, ſome mending their

their Carts; others dreſſing Meat, others upon their departure, that in thoſe publick places never want noiſe to diſturb thoſe who ſleep but of one ear: Theſe ſtately *Chans* or Inns, which with the *Moſchs* are the only durable and magnificent Buildings of the Empire, are the Edifices of certain great Men, who fearing to be deprived of their Riches by a haſty death, ſhould they endeavour to continue them to their Famliy, chuſe to perpetuate their Names, and ſecure their conditions by theſe publick Works.

Thoſe who would appear of a compaſſionate and tender nature, hold it a pious work to buy a Bird from a Cage to give him his liberty; and hold it a merciful action to buy Bread and feed the Dogs, of which there are a great number of diſeaſed Curs in all ſtreets appropriate to no Maſter, but are mangy and foul, and no ſmall cauſes of breeding the Plague, ſo frequent in all the Cities of the *Turks*. And this care of Dogs is accounted ſo charitable, that there are certain Laws made for the protection and maintenance of them: and it is a lighter offence to deny Bread to a poor Chriſtian who is famiſhed in his Chains, than to the Dogs of their Street, which are fit for nothing but to breed Infection; and ſome bind themſelves by a Vow to give ſuch a quantity of bread a day to the Dogs of ſuch a Street, others bequeath it by Teſtament; for they maintain their quarters from other wandring Curs, and join together in a ſtrange manner to preſerve certain limits free from others that are not whelped and bred amongſt them.

The *Camel* is another ſort of Beaſt to which the *Turks* bear not only a love, but a religious reverence, accounting it a greater ſin to over-burthen and tire them with too much labour, than the Horſe, becauſe it is the Beaſt moſt common to the holy parts of *Arabia*,

Arabia, and carries the *Alchoran* in Pilgrimage; ſo that I have obſerved thoſe who have the government of the *Camels*, when they have given water to them in a Baſon, to take off the foam or froth that comes from the Mouth of the Beaſt, and with that, as if it were ſome rare Balſome, with a ſingular devotion to anoint their Beards, and thereat with a Religious ſigh, groan out, *Hadgi Baba*, *Hadgi Baba*, which is as much as, Oh Father Pilgrim! O Father Pilgrim! And thus having run through the moſt obſervable points of the *Turkiſh Religion*, it will be now time to take a view of their Hoſt and Militia, being that by which their Empire is more ſupported, than either by their Policy in Civil Government, or Profeſſion in Religion.

THE

THE THIRD BOOK,

Wherein is Treated of the

TURKISH MILITIA.

CHAP. I.

Of the preſent ſtate of the Military Diſcipline in general amongſt the Turks.

WHoever is acquainted with the ſtate of the *Turkiſh* Empire, and hath duly conſidered the premiſes of this foregoing Treatiſe, will eaſily judg that the main Sinews of the *Ottoman* Kingdom conſiſts in the force of the *Spahees*, *Janizaries*, and the other Auxiliaries; and that this Government being wholly founded upon Martial Diſcipline, and the Law of Arms, is moſt obliged to the Conſtitutions, and ſupported on the Props related in this following Diſcourſe: for this People having neither entred into the Poſſeſſion

ſion of this Empire, as into an uninhabited and deſart Land, as Colonies of other Nations have done into Countries new found or diſcovered; nor got admittance precariouſly from the *Græcian* Princes for the benefit of their Neighbourhood and Commerce; but have opened their way to Poſſeſſion and Government by meer force and power of the Sword; whereby their Conſtitutions, Laws, Cuſtoms, and Manners of living are wholly agreeable to the warlike Diſcipline of a Camp, and to the quickneſs and ready execution of Martial Law. And if it be true in Morality, as it is in Nature, that things are conſerved by the ſame cauſe by which they are produced; it will neceſſarily follow, that this *Ottoman* Empire, which was begot by Arms, and had *Mars* its only Father, will never be nouriſhed by ſoftneſs, and the arts and blandiſhments of Peace.

But he that takes a view of the *Ottoman* Armies, as deſcribed in various Hiſtories, renowned for their Chivalry and Diſcipline in the times of *Sultan Selim*, or *Solyman* the Magnificent, and deſigns thence to extract a draught, or Copy for his preſent ſpeculation, will find himſelf much at a loſs in framing true conjectures of the puiſſance of the *Turks*, or the Rules of their Government, by compariſon of former times with this preſent age. For that ancient ſublimity and comely Majeſty in the Empire is much abated; the Forces by Land decayed, and the Maritime power by ill ſucceſs and unskilful and ſlothful Seamen, reduced to an inconſiderable condition; the Countries are diſpeopled, and the Royal Revenue abated; nothing remains of thoſe plenteous ſtores and proviſions of War, nor that Regiment and Diſcipline continued in peace, none of that ancient obſervation of their Laws and Religion, nor that love and reſpect to the Militia, which is now become degenerate, ſoft,

and

and effeminate; nor is the *Ottoman* Court ſo prone to remunerate the ſervices, and exalt the intereſt of the Cavalry, or maintain the reputation of the *Janizaries*. In brief, there are no Reliques of ancient Juſtice, or Generoſity of diſcreet Government, or Obedience to it, of Courteſie or Concord, of Valour or Councel, nor yet of Confidence, Friendſhip, or generous Fidelity.

But though this Empire hath many of theſe diſtempers, and begins to grow factious, and yet ſlothful, and deſirous to avoid the occaſions of War, as all Goverments have been which in their youth and firſt beginnings were eager, active, and provoked through Poverty, in their riper years grown Rich, and Luxurious with Plenty, have declined afterwards as from the Meridian of their Greatneſs and Power; yet the *Turks* maintain ſtill the extent of their Dominions, and if they have loſt ground in one place, like the Sea, they have recovered it in another; if in *Aſia* the *Perſians* have taken from them *Rivan*, *Schirvan*, *Tibris*, *Lyris*, and *Ghenge*, it is but a recovery of their own Dominions; if they are diſpoſſeſſed in *Ethiopia* of *Aden*, and other parts of *Arabia Fælix*, they have recompenced themſelves in *Europe*, by their footing in *Candi*; and in *Hungary*, by the late Conqueſt of *Newhauſel*, and *Novigrade*; and in *Tranſilvania*, by the additions of *Janova* and *Waradin*.

But this Empire, as vaſt and large as it is, is yet diſpeopled, the Villages abandoned, and whole Provinces as pleaſant and fruitful as *Tempe* or *Theſſaly*, uncultivate and turned into a Deſart, or Wilderneſs: all which deſolation and ruine proceeds from the Tyranny and Rapine of the *Beglerbegs* and *Paſhaws*; who either in their Journies to the poſſeſſion of their Government, or return from thence, expoſe the poor Inhabitants to violence and injury

of

of their Attendants, as if they had entered the Confines of an Enemy, or the Dominions of a Conquered People.

In like manner the inſolence of the Horſe and Foot is unſupportable, for in their marches from one Country to another, Parties of 20 or 30 are permitted to make excurſions into divers parts of their own Dominions, where they not only live upon free quarter, but extort Mony and Cloaths from the poor Vaſſals, taking their Children to ſell for Slaves, eſpecially the *Bulgarians*, and *Servians*, and the people of *Boſna* and *Albania*, which being ignorant of the *Turkiſh* Tongue, are ſold for *Ruſſians*, *Hungarians*, or *Moſcovites*, ſo that rather than be expoſed to ſo much miſery, and licenſe of the Soldiery, the poor people chooſe to abandon their dwellings, and wander into other Cities, or ſeek for refuge in the Mountains, or Woods of the Country. In fine, though generally the Military Offices are in the ſame form, and the Soldiery diſpoſed according to the ancient Rule and Canon, yet licentiouſneſs and negligence have ſo prevailed in the Officers, as to introduce that corruption which renders them wholly altered and eſtranged from their firſt Diſcipline: For the Commanders upon every light occaſion are contented to make Otoracks or Stipendiaries, ſuch as enjoy the pay and priviledges of a Soldier, and yet are excuſed from the Wars; which they eaſily purchaſe with a ſmall Sum of Money, for a ſcratch, or a fleſh-wound gained in the Wars; wholly againſt the Original Inſtitution, which deſigned that benefit only for maimed and diſabled Soldiers; ſo that now there is ſo great a number of Soldiery luſty and healthful, under the title of Dead mens pay, as diſfurniſhes the Grand Signiors Treaſury, and weakens his Forces.

The *Janizaries* alſo marrying freely, and yet diſpenſed

diſpenſed with as to the abſence from their Duty and Chambers, apply themſelves to Trades and other Studies beſides the War, by which means having Children and Dependencies, they are forced by other Arts than their few Aſpers of daily pay, to ſeek the proviſion and maintenance of a Family; and their minds growing eſtranged from the War, are ſollicitous with the care and anxiety for a Wife and Children; and in my time, have ſo abhorred the thoughts of the War both in *Candy* and in *Hungary*, that many have offered great Preſents to be excuſed; and ſo general hath been the diſlike of all kind of Martial action for the reaſons beforementioned, that at firſt the very rumours and diſcourſe of War, and afterwards the reality thereof, cauſed ſo general a diſcontent, as had, if not prudently prevented and timely ſuppreſſed, burſt into a Mutiny of the Militia; whoſe meer enquiry but into the reaſons and grounds of the War, is little different from a Sedition.

Another Corruption hath the Covetouſneſs of the Officers produced for ſmall Preſents and Donatives, in owning many under the title and name of *Spahees* and *Janizaries*, which have no name or place in the Rolls, or Regiſters of the Soldiery; by which means many Offenders, and outlawed perſons are defended by the Military Priviledges; and the ancient honour due to Arms is proſtituted for the maintenance and protection of the raſcalities and ſcum of the World.

And this ſhall ſerve to have ſpoken in general of the preſent ſtate of the *Turkiſh* Soldiery: we ſhall now proceed to the particularities of the force and numbers of the *Turkiſh* Militia, and from whence and how they are raiſed.

CHAP. II.

Of the Turkiſh Militia.

IN the twelfth Chapter of the firſt Book we made an eſtimate of the Revenue and the Riches of all the *Beglerbegs* and *Paſhaws* of the Empire, by which might be collected the number of Soldiers which theſe great men are able out of their own Families to furniſh unto the Wars; it will be now time to make a juſt computation in its due place, of the Forces in particular, the numbers, the Countries from whence they are raiſed, the ſeveral Military Orders, and the true puiſſance of the *Ottoman* Empire; which is indeed ſo incredibly great and numerous, That with good reaſon they have formed it into a Proverb, *That no Graſs grows there where the Turkiſh Horſe hath once ſet his foot.* This ſpeculation is abſolutely neceſſary to a true deſcription of the Regiment of a Country; for the Martial Conſtitutions are the beſt part of the Political Science, and Civil Laws have no vigour unleſs they receive their Authority by the enforcement of the Sword: This conſideration is alſo neceſſary to the Art of a Statesman, that he ill ſtudies the Geography of his Enemies Provinces, who knows not the utmoſt ſtrength it contains by Land and Sea; and is ill prepared to gain a perfect knowledge of the prudent Arts wherewith a Nation or People is conſerved in Peace, who is ignorant of their Force, and Conſtitutions appropriated to the time of War. Wherefore we ſhall diſcourſe as ſuccinctly of this Subject as the matter will permit, and with the ſame certainty that one

one of the principal Muſter-Maſters of the *Turkiſh* Rolls, long practiſed and accurate in his Office, hath decyphered, from whoſe Report it ſelf I profeſs to derive my Authority in this following Relation.

The whole *Turkiſh* Militia then is of two ſorts; one that receives maintenance from certain Lands or Farms beſtowed on them by the Grand Signior; others that receive their conſtant pay in ready Mony. The great nerve or ſinew of the *Turkiſh* Empire is that of the * firſt rank, which are of two ſorts, *viz. Zaims*, which are like Barons in ſome Countries; and *Timariots*, who may be compared to the *Decumani* amongſt the *Romans*. Thoſe of the ſecond ſort, paid out of the Grand Signiors Treaſury, are *Spahees*, *Janizaries*, * *Armourers*, * *Gunners*, * and Sea-Soldiers called *Levens*, who have no pay for life, or are enrolled amongſt the Military Orders; but only make an Agreement for Five or ſix thouſand Aſpers for their Voyage, which being ended, they are disbanded.

* Called it Turkiſh *Mal-Mukatele.*

* *Gebegi.*

* *Topzi.*

Of the Zaims *and* Timariots.

The nature of theſe two, and their Inſtitution is the ſame; the only difference is in their Commiſſions or Patents, or rather we may call them the Conveyances or Evidences for their Lands, which they have from the Grand Signior: For the Rent of a *Zaim* is from 20m of Aſpers to 99999, and no further; for adding one Aſper more, it becomes the Eſtate of a *Sangiackbeck*, called a *Paſhaw*, which is from 100000 Aſpers to 19m999; for adding one Aſper more, it becomes the Revenue of a *Beglerbeg*.

The *Timariots* are of two ſorts; one called *Tezkerelw*, who have their Evidences for their Land from the Grand Signiors Court, whoſe Rent is from 5 or 6000 Aſpers, to 19m999; for then with the addition of one Aſper they enter the number of *Zaims*:

The other ſort is called *Tezkeretis*, who hath his Patent or Writing from the *Beglerbeg* of the Country, whoſe Rent is from 3000 to 6000 Aſpers.

The *Zaims* in all Expeditions of War are obliged to ſerve with their Tents, which are to be furniſhed with Kitchins, Stables, and other neceſſary Apartments agreeable to their State and Quality; and for every 5000 Aſpers of Rent received from the Grand Signior, they are to bring a Horſe-man into the Field, which is called *Gebelu*; as for example, one of thirty thouſand Aſpers is to come attended with ſix, one of ninety thouſand with 18 Horſemen, and ſo proportionably: every *Zaim* is entituled *Kulitchgee*, or Sword-man; ſo that when the *Turks* calculate the ſtrength or numbers that a *Beglerbeg* is able to bring into the Field for the ſervice of his Prince, they make a computation upon ſo many *Zaims* and *Timariots* themſelves, which they call ſo many Swords, not numbring the people with which they come accompanied.

The *Timariots* are obliged to ſerve with leſſer Tents, and to be provided with 3 or 4 Baskets for every man that attends them; for their Office is, beſides fighting, as alſo of the *Zaims* and *Spahees*, to carry Earth and Stones for making Batteries and Trenches, whilſt the *Janizaries* are in skirmiſh with the Enemy. And for every three thouſand Aſpers Rent the *Timariots* are ſeſſed at a Man and Horſe, as the *Zaim* is for every five thouſand: And both one and the other of theſe Soldiers little differ from thoſe in *England* which hold their Lands in *Capite*, or the ancient Tenure of Knights Service.

Both *Zaims* and *Timariots* are diſpoſed into Regiments under command of Colonels, called *Alai-Begler*, who march with Colours and the * Kettle-Drum: theſe Colonels are again under the command

* In Turkiſh *Tabl. Alem.*

mand of the *Paſhaw*, or *Sangiack-beg*, and he under the *Beglerbeg*; which Forces being united into one body, repair to the Rendezvous appointed by the * General, who is either the Grand Signior in Perſon, or the Viſier *Azem*, or ſome other eminent perſon qualified with the Title of Viſier.

* In Turkiſh *Serasker*.

Theſe two Orders of Soldiery are not only appropriated to Land-ſervice, but ſome alſo are deſtined to the Sea, who are called *Deria Keleminde*, and are under the command of the Captain *Paſhaw* or Admiral: but the *Zaims* are moſt commonly diſpenſed with as to the Sea-ſervice in their own perſons, upon the payment of ſo much Money as they are eſteemed at in the Signiors Book, out of which *Levends* are raiſed, and enrolled in the Regiſters of the *Arſenal*; but the *Timariots* can never be excuſed from their perſonal duty and ſervice with their attendance of Soldiery, according to the value of their Lands.

Neither the one nor the other of theſe can be diſpenſed with from their ſervice at Land; no excuſe in time of the Grand Signiors Wars is lawful or pleadable: if ſick, they are carried in Horſe-Litters or Beds; if Infants, in Hampers or Baskets, and in the very Cradles accuſtomed to the hardſhip, hazard, and Diſcipline of War. And thus much ſhall ſerve in brief to have ſpoken in explication of the Nature of the *Zaims* and *Timariots*, which come under the general denomination of *Spahees*, and compoſe the beſt part of the *Turkiſh* Armies; we ſhall now proceed to declare, as far as can probably be computed, the number of theſe Horſe which fill up the vaſt Hoſt that hath overſpread ſo large a proportion of the World.

CHAP. III.

A Computation of the numbers of the Forces ariſing from the Zaims *and* Timariots.

IT were a work of too great labour conſidering the little ſatisfaction and delight it would afford the Reader, to proceed accurately in deſcribing the juſt numbers of thoſe which follow theſe *Zaims* and *Timariots*; it will be ſufficient to denote, that the ſmalleſt number of a *Zaim* is four Men, and is the greateſt of a *Timariot*, whoſe loweſt condition is obliged to maintain a ſingle Man, and the higheſt of a *Zaim* to ſerve with Nineteen; ſo that whoſoever will ſurvey this *Turkiſh* Hoſt, muſt make his Calculate a little more or leſs by conjecture and judgement.

And this difficulty is the more augmented, when I conſider the fraud is uſed by the Accomptants; Regiſters, and Muſter-Maſters of the Grand Signiors Enrollments, who are as well acquainted with the arts and ſweetneſs of making falſe Muſters as they are in the moſt ingenious places of *Chriſtendom*; and perhaps Policy may afford a connivence to this Fraud, for the ſake of a ſuperlative face of their Armies; which they love to expreſs by this uſual ſimilitude, *Asker remli deria miſal*, As innumerable as the Sands of the Sea-ſhore: but in effect the noiſe is greater than the reality, and he that will ſum up their number, may find Arithmetick to make the Account, which by the vaſt extent of Tents, confuſion of Baggage, train of Servants, and Attendants

dants of the Camp, appears infinite in the popular eſtimation. Beſides the *Turkiſh* Army admits of great increaſe and decreaſe by the many Interlopers, as we may call them, which the *Zaims* for their own honour introduce to fill up their numbers on a day of Muſter, or Appearance; ſo that one would admire to ſee, in ſo ſhort a time ſo apparent a decay in the *Turkiſh* Camp: which abuſe, the great and famous Viſier *Mahomet Kiupruli* with cruelty and extraordinary ſeverity endeavoured to remedy upon his expedition for recovery of *Tenedos* and *Lemnos*; and conqueſt of *Janoua* in *Tranſilvania*; but it is impoſſible for one man to know, and ſee, and remedy all diſorders, and is amongſt the *Turks* called *Aain oin* a ſecret fraud, as difficult to be totally remedied as it is to be throughly diſcovered.

But that which makes the principal difference and various change herein, is the death of *Zaims* and *Timariots*; ſome of which holding an Eſtate only for life, and others dying without Heirs of their Bodies, their Lands revert to the Crown: Which Eſtates being improved by the induſtry of the Poſſeſſors, above the primary valuation in the Records, and afterwards falling into the hands of the Prince, are beſtowed again on others according to their true eſtimate, which is oftentimes double of the former. By which means, the number of the Grand Signiors Soldiery is increaſed; and it is a point very obſervable, that as other Princes loſe by the fall, and death of their Subjects, the Grand Signior is the only gainer; for of the moſt that are ſlain in the day of Battel, the Eſtates accrue to him, in diſpoſal again of which he obſerves this Rule, to gratifie many with that which was before the propertion of a ſingle perſon. Note:

But to come now to the expreſs and diſtinct account of the *Ziamets* and *Timariots* in every part and

Government of the Empire, this Computation is extracted out of the Imperial Rolls, and Regiſters of the Grand Signior.

In the Government of *Anatolia* are reckoned as follows; in the

Zaims is the perſon, and *Zaimet* the Land for maintenance of the *Zaim*.

	Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*
Of	*Kiotahia*	39	948
	Sarhan	41	674
	Aidin	19	572
	Kaſtamoni	24	570
	Hudawendighiar	42	1005
	Boli	14	551
	Menteſche	52	381
	Angura	10	257
	Karahiſar	10	615
	Tikeili	7	257
	Riangri	7	331
	Hamid	9	585
	Sultan Vghi	7	390
	Kareſi	7	242
	Jenige hiſar.	7	12
	Total of *Ziamets* are	295	and 7440 *Timariots.*

So that computing at the loweſt rate, 4 *Gebelues* to every *Zaim* with them and their followers, muſt make 1180

Doubling the number of *Timariots* at the loweſt rate makes 14880

In all 16060

For maintenance of which Army the Rents in the *Ottoman* Statutes are,

Aſpers 37310700

80 Aſpers makes a Dollar or a Piece of Eight.

There was farther in paſt times allotted to the attendance of this Army about 6900 men for mending the Ways, bringing Proviſions, and ſervice of the Artillery; there was alſo an allowance for 1280 Sutlers, or Victuallers of the Camp, and for 128 Trumpeters and Drummers, which were *Gypſies*; but this was when *Anatolia* was a Frontier Country to the Chriſtians, and was therefore better fortified and accommodated; but ſince it is become one of the innermoſt parts of the Empire, that Rent is converted into the poſſeſſion of *Zaims* and *Timariots*, ſo that there is a farther addition of 330 *Ziamets* and 1136 *Timariots*.

In

In the Government of *Caramania* are reckoned,

Sangiacks 7.	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*	
Iconium	18	512	The *Gebelues* of the
Nighde	11	355	*Zaims* at the loweſt rate
Kaiſari	12	144	are 292
Jeniſcheher	13	244	Of *Timariots* at the
Akscheher	6	122	ſame accompt 4900
Kyrſcheher	4	430	
Akserai	9	358	Which makes in all 4892
Which make	73	2165	The Rent according to the *Ottoman* Statute is,
			Aſpers 1050175

In the Government of *Diarbekir* are reckoned 12 *Sangiacks*, beſides thoſe of *Kiurdiſtaw* and *Gurdia*, which are computed to make 1800 Men; but I find only 9 denoted for the *Ziamets* and *Timariots*, viz.

Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*	
Amed	9	167	The *Gebelues* of the
Charpurt	70	163	*Zaims* at the loweſt rate
Ezani	10	122	will make 424
Sipurek	0	1	*Timariots Gebelues* at
Nesbin	1	5	the ſame rate will make
Chaſenghif	5	30	1080
Tehemeſcherek	2	7	
Kuleb	3	24	1504
Sangiar	6	21	The Rent is not de-
Which make	106	540	ſcribed of this Country in the *Ottoman* Statutes.

In

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Damaſcus*, called in the Turkiſh *Scham*, are 7 *Sangiacks*,

Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*	
Damaſcus	87	337	The *Gebelues* of the
Jeruſalem	9	161	*Zaims* at the former rate
Aglum	4	61	512
Bahura	9	39	The *Gebelues* of *Tima-*
Sifad	5	123	*riots* 1746
Gaza	7	108	
Nabolos	7	44	In all 2258
Which make	128	873	

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Liwas*.

Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*	
Liwas	48	928	The *Gebelues* of the
Amaſia	19	249	*Zaims* at the former rate
Teburum	16	310	432
Buzadick	15	731	The *Timariots* 6058
Demurki	1	310	
Gianik	7	348	In all 6490
Arebkir	2	153	The Rent for mainte-
			nance hereof 1 3087327
Which make	808	3029	

In

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Erzrum* are,

	Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*	
Erzrum	56		2214	
Karahizar-ſcharki	32		904	The *Gebelues* of the *Zaims* at the former rate 488
Kieſi	8		229	
Paſin	9		654	The *Timariots* 1026
Hanes Esber	3		435	
Tortum	10		491	In all 11584
Mamervum	4		96	
Melazkerd	0		272	
Tekman	1		253	
	122		5548	

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Wan* are,

	Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*	
Wan	48		147	
Adilgewar	29		101	The *Gebelues* of the *Zaims* at the former rate make 740
Ergiſch	0		14	
Senurighiul	32		203	
Tehobanlu	2		36	The *Timariots* 1652
Ghihokiche	36		160	
Derekgher	27		79	In all 2392
Ghiorluk	7		61	
Faniiazi	4		25	
	185		826	

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Maraſch* are,

Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*		
Maraſch	10	118	The *Gebelues* of the	
Malatia	8	276	*Zaims* at the former rate	
Aſab	9	118	make	108
			The *Timariots*	1027
	27	512		1135

The Rent for maintenance, Aſpers 9420317

In the Government of *Cyprus* are,

Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*		
Itcbili	16	60	The *Gebelues* of the	
Alaine	0	115	*Zaims* at the former rate	
Cyprus	9	308	make	160
Schis	2	156	The *Timariots*	2134
Tarſus	13	428		2294
	40	1067		

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Tripoli* in *Syria* are,

Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*		
Tripoli	12	87	The *Gebelues* of the	
Hams	15	169	*Zaims* at the former rate	
Gebele	9	91	make	250
Selemie	4	56	The *Timariots*	1140
Hamaz	23	171		1390
	63	570		

In

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Rika* are,

Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*		
Rika	30	143	The *Gebelues* of the	
Serug	9	291	*Zaims* at the former rate	
Biregek	15	109	make	240
Ane	9	123	Of the *Timariots*	1332
	60	666		1572

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Trabezond* are no *Sangiacks* as is declared in the firſt Book; yet within the Juriſdiction of the City its ſelf are 56 *Ziamets*, and 398 *Timariots*; ſo as the computation of that place is of 920 Men.

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Aleppo* are,

Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*		
Aleppo	73	295	The *Gebelues* of the	
Adana	11	191	*Zaims* at the former rate	
Kelis	17	295	make	468
Azir	2	91	Of the *Timariots*	2088
Balis	7	86		
Mearre	7	86		2256
	117	1044		

In

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Tebilder* are,

Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*	
Olti	3	123	
Erdehamburek	9	86	
Hagreek	2	23	
Hartus	13	39	The *Gebelues* of the *Zaims* at the former rate make 424
Ardnug	4	149	
Puſenhaf	11	18	
Penbek	8	54	Of *Timariots* 1318
Tarchir	2	4	
Luri	9	10	1742
Uſtucha	1	7	
Achankiulk	11	37	
Achtala	6	6	
Aſin	4	14	
Penbeck	14	89	
Pertekrek	9	0	
	106	659	

In the Government of the Captain *Paſhaw*, or Lord-Admiral, are,

Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*	
Negropont	12	188	The *Gebelues* of the *Zaims* at the former proportion make 500
Mytilene	4	83	
Kogia ile	25	187	Of *Timariots* 2304
Siſla	32	235	
Karliili	11	119	2804
Galipoli	14	32	
Rhodes	5	71	
Betgai	5	146	For maintenance of which the Rent ſet down in the *Ottoman* Statutes is Aſpers 10800000
Mezeſtra	16	91	
	124	1152	

In

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Rumeli*, otherwiſe *Romania*, are,

Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*	
Sophia	337	1788	The *Zaims* with their *Gebelues* at the former proportion make 4300
Kioſtendill	48	1017	
Morea	100	242	
Alexandria of Epyrus	19	205	The *Timariots* 16388
Thirhala	26	525	This the loweſt rate
Siliſtra	75	432	20688
Nigheboli	60	344	
Uchri	60	342	But the ordinary computation of the *Zaims* and *Timariots* in this place with their *Gebelues*, is of about 30200 fighting men, or thereabouts; to which is added the Soldiers of the *Beglerbeg*, *Sangiacbegs*, and other Officers, which commonly amount to 2500. The Militia maintained with the Lands of the Country may be computed at 32700, or 33000 men.
Aulona	68	489	
Jania	62	345	
Ilbaſan	18	138	
Tchirmen	20	130	
Solonica	36	262	
Wize	20	79	
Delunia	20	165	
Uskiup	20	344	
Kerkleſa	1	18	
Dukakin	10	53	
Widin	17	225	
Alagehizar	27	509	
Serzerin	17	225	
Waltearin	10	317	
	1075	8194	

Beſides this Militia in *Romania*, there is another ſort called *Jureghian* or *Jurukler*, who have their Eſtates in Fee from Father to Son, of which there are accounted about 1294 Families: There is alſo another ſort in the Province of *Dobridge*, called *Ogiacks*

Ogiacks, of which there are about 4000 Houſes: Of the ſame kind in the Province of *Kizlige* are 200 Houſes: In *Tchirmen* 351. of *Cingani*, which are the ſame as amongſt us the Race of the *Gypſies*; in *Wize* 170: So that the whole ſum of *Ogiacks* may arrive to the number of 4721, or at the moſt to 5000. Theſe are obliged every year to draw out of every thirty five perſons, called *Eſchkingi* or Voluntiers, who are to join themſelves with the *Tartars* for making Excurſions into *Ruſſia*, *Poland*, or other parts; and ſo yearly they interchangeably take their courſe. The other 25 remaining are called *Jamak*, and are not obliged perſonally to ſerve when the Grand Signiors Wars call them to employment; but then for every 5000 Aſpers Rent they poſſeſs of the Grand Signiors Lands, they are ſeſſed at one man, who are aſſigned to ſerve out of thoſe whoſe turn it was that year to have accompanied the *Tartars* in their Robberies. The principal Office of theſe is to attend the Artillery, Baggage, and Proviſions, to mend the Ways and Bridges for paſſage of the Army. To the like ſervice are obliged certain Families of *Bulgarians*, for carriage of Hay, and cutting Graſs, according to the Seaſon of the Year.

The number of the *Zaims* and *Timariots* in the Governments of the *Beglerbegs* of *Buda*, *Temſwar*, and *Boſna*, I find not particularly deſcribed in *Ottoman* Books; but however according to the beſt information, that Militia on the Confines of the Empire called *Serhadly*, amount to the number of about 70000 fighting men, paid out of the Rents of the *Sangiacks* of that Country. But though the Militia of *Buda* be not ſet down in the Regiſters of more ancient date at *Conſtantinople*, becauſe it is as it were a principality independent both for its Eminency, Revenue, and large extent of Dominions; yet

yet in that City it ſelf is ſtrict order obſerved, and the Rolls of their force moſt exactly known and computed; to which the *Turks* have a ſtrict eye, it being a frontier Gariſon of much importance, and the Key of *Hungary*; the Militia of which, as I learned from Officers of Note, during my reſidence in that place, was according to this preciſe Account; Of

Janizaries	12000
Spahees	1500
Zaims and *Timariots*	2200
Azaps, which are the meaneſt ſort of Soldiery	1800
Belonging to the Caſtle of *Buda*	1200
Jebeges, or *Armourers*	1900
The Guard at the Gate called *Cuchuc Cappe*	500
Topgees, or *Gunners*	500
Martoloes, a ſort of Foot Soldiers	300
Soldiers belonging to the Powder-houſe	280
The Soldiery who are Servants to the *Paſhaw*	3000

In all 22180; to which adding the Militia of *Boſna*, and other parts of *Sclavonia*, and all along the Frontier Countries, which extend for above 800 Engliſh miles, the number may amount to no leſs then 70000 fighting Men. But we here diſcourſe only of the number of the *Zaims* and *Timariots*, which whole ſum amounts to, of *Zaims* 10948, and of *Timariots* 72436, which makes in all 83380; but this is calculated at the loweſt rate, they may very well be reckoned to be one third more, beſides other Militia's of *Cairo*, or other Orders of Soldiery to be treated of in the following Chapters.

Theſe Partitions or Diviſions were firſt made by *Solyman* the Magnificent, as the beſt Rule and Method for an orderly diſpoſition of his Militia, and as the ſtrongeſt nerve of the *Ottoman* Force: but as

with time in the moſt exact compoſitions of Diſcipline, corruptions through covetouſneſs and ambition of Officers are introduc'd; ſo alſo in the juſt diſpoſal of theſe Rents according to the ancient Inſtitutions: for the *Beglerbegs*, *Paſhaws*, *Treaſurers*, and other Officers, inſtead of beſtowing this maintenance to the Soldiers, according to their merits of Valour or long Service, reſerve it to preſer and gratifie their Servants and Pages, obliging them in recompence thereof under various Services; ſome that live at *Conſtantinople*, or near the Sea, to defray the Charges of all Boats and Veſſels which carry their Houſhold Proviſions; others that live in the Inland Countries agreeing with the Treaſurer of the Soldiery, without regard to the true Heirs, or any other conſideration, ſet to ſale theſe Rents to them who profer moſt; ſo that in time of Harveſt the *Paſhaw* ſends abroad his Officers to gather his Profits from the poor *Timariots*, with that oppreſſion and violence as cauſes diſturbances, differences and Law-Suits amongſt them, which being to be decided by Judges partly intereſſed in the quarrel, the Sentence is certainly determined on their ſide who have moſt Power and moſt Money.

The aforegoing account of *Zaims* and *Timariots* is the moſt reaſonable one can be given: And becauſe we have reckoned them at the loweſt rate, making ſome allowance to the 83380, this Militia may amount to an hundred thouſand Men, which, as I have heard, is the utmoſt number of this ſort of oldiery.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Of certain Cuſtoms and Laws obſerved amongſt the Zaimets *and* Timariots.

AMongſt theſe Forces of *Ziamets* and *Timariots*, are in time of War and Action mixed certain Voluntiers or Adventurers call'd by the *Turks Gionulli*, who maintain themſelves upon their own expence in hopes by ſome ſignal Actions of Valour to obtain the ſucceſſion into a *Zaims* or *Timariots* Lands, as places are made void by the ſlaughter of the War. Theſe Men are often very hardy and ready to attempt the moſt deſperate Exploits, moved by a deſire of the Reward, and by the Perſwaſion, that at worſt dying in a War againſt Chriſtians, they become Martyrs for the *Mahometan* Faith. It is reported, that in one day, upon the aſſaults given to *Sorinſwar*, or the new Fort of Count *Serini*, one *Timariots* Farm was beſtowed eight times; one being ſlain it was conferred on another, and ſo on a third, and ſo the reſt; all which had the misfortune to fall, until it reſted on the eighth, the others dying with the Title only of *Timariots*.

The *Zaims* or *Timariots* being aged, or impotent, have in their life-time power to reſign up the Right of their Eſtates to their Sons, or other Relations.

It is not lawful for a Peaſant or Clown to mount his Horſe, or girt his Sword like a *Spahee*, until firſt he hath had part of his Education in the Service or Family of ſome *Paſhaw*, or perſon of Quality; unleſs

leſs it be on the Confines of the Empire, where having given evident teſtimonies of his Courage, he may then become Competitor for the vacant Farms of a *Zaim* or *Timariot*.

It is the Cuſtom of *Romania*, that a *Zaim* or *Timariot* dying in the Wars, his *Zaims* Rents are divided into as many *Timariot* Farms as he hath Sons; but if a *Timariot* hath no more than 3000 Aſpers Rent, it deſcends entirely to his eldeſt Son; but if it be more, it is proportionably divided amongſt the reſt of his Children.

But if they die of a natural death at their own homes, the Lands fall to the diſpoſal of the *Beglerbeg* of the Country, either to confer them on the Heirs of the deceaſed, on any of his Servants, or ſell them at the beſt advantage.

But in *Anatolia* there are many *Zaims* and *Timariots* whoſe Eſtates are Hereditary to them and their Heirs; and are not obliged to ſerve in Perſon in the War, but only to ſend their *Gebelues*; or number of Servants according to the value of their Eſtates; of which duty if they fail in the time of War, the years Rent is confiſcated to the Exchequer; and this Eſtate deſcends to the next of Kin, whether derived from the Male or Female Line.

CHAP. V.

The State of the Militia in Grand Cairo, *and* Egypt.

THE guard and protection of the Kingdom of *Egypt* is committed to the charge of twelve *Begs*, ſome of which are of the ancient Race of the *Mamalukes*, confirm'd by *Sultan Selim* upon the taking

king of *Cairo*; theſe have the command of the whole Militia in their hands, whereby they are grown proud, powerful, and ready upon every diſcontent to riſe in Rebellion; every one of theſe maintains 500 fighting men, well appointed for War, and exerciſed in Arms, which ſerve but as their Guard, and for Servants of their Court; with which they go attended in Journies, in their Huntings, and publick Appearances; under the command of theſe twelve Captains are 20000 Horſe, paid at the charge of the Country, whoſe Office is by turns to convey yearly the Pilgrims to *Mecha*, and the annual Tribute of 60000 *Zechins* to the *Ottoman* Court, whether it be judged requiſite to ſend it either by Land or Sea; theſe are the ſtanding Militia of the Country, out of which, unleſs upon the foregoing occaſions, they are not obliged to other ſervice; their principal duty being to prevent the invaſion of the *African* Montaneers, who often make incurſion from the barren Rocks, into the fat and fruitful Soils of *Egypt*. Beſides this Militia are computed 80000 *Timariots*, out of which they yearly tranſport about 2500 or 3000 men to the Wars of *Candy*; but to more remote Countries, or the late Wars of *Hungary*, I did not hear that this Soldiery hath uſually been called.

Theſe twelve *Begs* of *Egypt* are noble by blood, enjoying an hereditary Eſtate deſcending from Father to Son; which Richneſs joined with the command of a powerful Army, hath rendred them ſo formidable and inſolent, that oftentimes they take upon them an authority to impriſon and depoſe the *Paſhaw* from his Office, and ſpoil him of all the Riches he hath collected in his three years Government: by which means are always great jealouſies, and enmities betweeen the *Paſhaw* and theſe *Begbs*; Diſſentions and Rebellions to that high degree, that

many times it hath been little different from an abſolute Revolt. *Ibrahim Paſhaw* was in the year 1664. impriſoned by them, and obtained his liberty for * 600 Purſes of Mony; after whoſe departure the Brother of the ſaid *Ibrahim*, upon ſame certain pretences on the *Paſhaws* ſcore, falling into their hands, was impriſoned alſo, but ſhortly after obtained his releaſment by the Grand Signiors * Maſter of Horſe, who was ſent expreſly to compoſe the diſorders of *Egypt*; which were now proceeded to that degree, as without ſome ſatisfactory atonement could not be termed otherwiſe than a total defection; and therefore they reſigned up one called *Sulficar Bei* to juſtice, who * being brought to *Adrianople*, was immediately in preſence of the Grand Signior put to death. But the *Turk* hath always on occaſions of theſe diſturbances and inſolences, diſſembled and connived at the diſorders, perceiving the diſtemper of that Kingdom to be ſuch, as can with much difficulty be redreſſed, fearing that were forcible remedies applied, they would cauſe ſo violent a commotion of humours, as would abſolutely rent it from the body of the Empire.

* About 100000 Dollars at *Cairo*.

* Called *Embra bore*.

* In the month of *Feb.* 1664.

The Auxiliary Forces to the forementioned Militia of the Turks.

Are the *Tartars*, *Valachians*, *Moldavians*, and *Tranſilvanians*, under the command of their reſpective Princes. Who are obliged to ſerve in perſon whenſoever called by the *Sultans* command. The *Tartars*, I mean of *Crim*, are to furniſh One hundred thouſand men; the *Tartar han*, or Prince, in Perſon to lead them, when the Grand Signior himſelf appears in the Field; but if the Army is commanded by the Viſier only, then the Son of the *Tartar han* is to ſerve: or having no Iſſue, the Army to the number of

Forty

Forty or fifty thouſand fighting men, is to be conducted under the chief Miniſter. But the Princes of *Valachia*, *Moldavia*, and *Tranſilvania*, are never excuſed from perſonal attendance in the Camp, each of which reſpectively are to be attended with Six or ſeven thouſand Men apiece. And though the Prince of *Tranſilvania* called *Apaſi*, was in the laſt War againſt the Emperor not called out of the Confines of his own Country; it was with deſign that he ſhould keep that ſtation free from the irruption of the Enemy, not that he was diſobliged from his perſonal attendance on the Viſiers Camp.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Spahees.

HItherto we have treated of the *Turkiſh* Horſe that are maintained by Farms and Rents of Lands: now it will be neceſſary to diſcourſe of thoſe that receive their conſtant pay from the Grand Signiors Treaſury; and theſe are called *Spahees*, who may not improperly be termed the Gentry of the *Ottaman* Empire, becauſe they are commoly better educated, courteous, and refined, than the other ſort of *Turks*, and are in number 12000. Of theſe there are two Orders, one called *Silachtari*, who carry yellow Colours; and the other *Spahaoglari* or the Servants of the *Spahees*, and have their Colours red; theſe Servants have now obtained the precedency above their Maſters; for though the *Silachtari* are very ancient, and deduce their inſtitution from *Ali* their firſt Founder, who was one of the



A Spahee.

four Companions of *Mahomet*; yet *Sultan Mahomet* the Third, on a day of Battel in *Hungary*, ſeeing the *Silahteri* routed and put to flight, with violent paſſion and earneſtneſs endeavoured to ſtop their courſe; and perceiving the Servants of theſe *Spahees* to remain ſtill in a body, incited them to revenge the ſhameful cowardiſe of their Maſters, who immediately encouraged with the words of the *Sultan*, clapping up a red Flag, gave ſo bold an onſet on the Enemy, and with that ſucceſs as wholly recovered the glory of the day: in remembrance of which ſervice and notable exploit, the *Sultan* as diſpoſer of all Honours and Orders, gave ever after the preheminence to theſe Servants before their Maſters; ſince which time this new inſtitution of *Spahaoglary* hath always been continued.

. Theſe Light-horſe-men are armed with their Scimetar and Lance, called by them *Mizrak*, and ſome carry in their hands a *Gerit*, which is a Weapon about two foot long, headed with Iron, which I conceive to be the ſame with the *Pila* amongſt the *Romans*, which by long exerciſe and cuſtom they throw with a ſtrange dexterity and violence, and ſometimes darting it before them in the full career of their Horſe, without any ſtop recover it again from the ground: they alſo wear a ſtraight Sword named *Caddare*, with a broad Blade fixed to the ſide of their Saddle, which, or the Scimetar, they make uſe of when they arrive to handy-blows with the Enemy; many of them are armed with Bows and Arrows, and with Piſtols and Carbines; but eſteem not much of Fire-Arms, having an opinion, that in the Field they make more noiſe than execution; ſome of them wear Jacks of Mail and Head-pieces painted with the colour of their Squadron; in fight they begin their onſet with *Allah*, *Allah*, and make three attempts to break within the Ranks

Ranks of the Enemy, in which if they fail, they then make their retreat.

Compariſon of the *Spahees* of *Aſia* and *Europe*

The *Aſian Spahees* are better mounted than commonly thoſe of *Europe*, though theſe being Borderers on the Confines of the Chriſtians, having learned much of their Diſcipline by conſtant skirmiſhes and combats, are trained in the Art of War, and become the more valiant and experienced Soldiers.

But the *Aſiatick Spahees* were formerly the more rich, many particular Men of them bringing into the Field thirty or forty men apiece, beſides their Led-Horſes, Tents, and other accomodations proportionable to their Retinue; but theſe Cavaliers ſeemed too great and proud to the Viſier *Kupriuli*, for the condition of common Troopers, and infected with the Epidemical Spirit of Faction and Mutiny, which raged at that time amongſt all the Grandees of the Empire; which cauſed him to ſtrike off their heads with as little remorſe as one would do to the tops of Poppies, until he had abſolutely made a deſtruction of them. Thoſe now which remain are poor and inconſiderable, contented to comrade ten or twelve in a company, for maintenance of a poor Tent, and two or three Horſes and a Mule for Baggage and Proviſions; theſe are more tame, and ſubject to the Cudgel, and can take a beating patiently on the ſoles of the feet, which is their puniſhment, as the *Janizaries* is to receive the blows on the Buttocks (that ſo this chaſtiſement may neither incommode the ſeat of the Horſemen, nor the marches of the foot) but if the crime be great and capital, they are ſent for by *Chiauſes*, or Purſuivants to appear before the Viſier, by whom being condemned and ſtrangled near the Walls of the Grand Signiors *Seraglio*, their bodies are afterwards, about two or three hours in the night, thrown into the Sea, without other ſolemnity than the firing

firing of one of thoſe great Guns next the Sea, which are planted under the Walls of the *Seraglio*, which ſerve for ſo many warning pieces for others Example.

Their pay is divers, but in general it is from twelve to one hundred Aſpers a day: thoſe who proceed from the *Seraglioes* of *Pera*, *Ibrahim*, *Paſhaw* and *Adrianople*, which are ſo many Nurſeries and Schools as well of the principles of War, as Literature; or have been Cooks Mates (for the Cook of theſe Societies is a principal Officer of reſpect) or *Baltagees*, that is, Hatchet-men, who cut Wood for the Grand Signiors *Seraglio*, and are licenſed to live abroad with the title of *Spahee*, have the loweſt pay of twelve Aſpers a day; but thoſe who are extracted from the leſs, or greater Chamber of the Grand Signiors own *Seraglio*, called *Seni ſerai*, have 19 Aſpers pay; and if they are favoured with the title of an Office, they receive two or three Aſpers augmentation. But ſuch as are elected to the War out of more eminent Chambers, as the Landery, the Turbant-Office, the Diſpenſatory, the * Treaſury, the * Falconers Lodge and others (which we have mentioned in the deſcription of the *Seraglio*) have, at firſt thirty Aſpers daily pay: an * encreaſe of which is obtained ſometimes by the Viſiers, or Regiſters favour unto two Aſpers more; ſometimes by ſervices in the War, by receiving two Aſpers augmentation for the head of every Enemy he brings in; two Aſpers more for * intelligence of the death of any *Spahee*, out of the pay of the deceaſed; as alſo, at the Incoronation or Inſtalment of every Grand Signior, five Aſpers increaſe is given as a donative general to the whole Army of *Spahees*: and thus many of them by art, induſtry, and good ſucceſs, go augmenting until they arrive to an hundred Aſpers, and here is their *non plus ultra*, they can

Their Pay.

* *Killer Odaſi.*

* *Hazna Odaſi.*

* Called *Taraki.*

* This is done, that the Grand Signior may not be cheated by having the Pay continued to thoſe who are dead.

can riſe no higher. They are paid quarterly from three months to three months; which they may omit to receive for nine months, but if twelve paſs, they can only demand the nine, the other quarter or more is confiſcated to the publick Exchequer: Their place of payment is now in the Hall of the Viſier, which formerly was in the Houſes of the Pay-Maſters, and Treaſurer, but changed by the Viſier *Kupriuli*, on occaſion of the diſorders and abuſes of the Officers which cauſed Mutinies and Diſturbances amongſt the Soldiery. For the rich *Spahees* living far diſtant, to excuſe themſelves from a long journey to the City, agreed with the Pay-Maſters that they for ſome certain part of their Income, ſhould without farther trouble to themſelves, take up their Dues, and make it over quarterly to their Countries of abode; theſe men thus taſting the benefit of this trade, agreed with others for ſome little gains to diſpatch them before the reſt; by which means and the payment only on Wedneſdays and Saturdays, thoſe *Spahees* that came from remote parts, making ſo long attendance, had with their exceſſes in *Conſtantinople* ſpent as much as the principal ſum they expected; of which growing ſenſible, at firſt they began to murmur, then to threaten the Pay-Maſters, and at laſt proceeded to open Mutiny, by forcing the doors, breaking the Windows of the Officers, with many other inſolencies and diſorders, until *Kupriuli*, to remedy theſe abuſes, ordered the mony to be given out in his preſence, and the Payment to be continued every day until the Pay was ended.

Sons of *Spahees.* The Sons of *Spahees*, preſenting themſelves before the Viſier, may claim the priviledge of beirg enrolled in the Grand Signiors Books; but their Pay, which is the loweſt rate twelve Aſpers a day, is to iſſue forth from their Fathers proportion, but then they

they are in the road of preferment, and are capable by their ſervices and merits to make additions upon foundation of their own induſtry. Beſides the foregoing ways by which the *Spahees* gain their encreaſe of pay, I am given to underſtand that formerly they had another benefit, called *Gulamiie*, or ſafe Conduct Money, which was one *per cent.* of all Monies to thoſe whom the Collectors of the Grand Signiors Revenue ſummoned to convey the Treaſure for more ſecurity to the Capital City, beſides the maintenance of themſelves and Horſes in the Journey; but this as too chargeable a deduction from the Imperial Revenue, was with time taken off, to the great diſcontent of the *Spahees* in general.

Accidental gains to the *Spahees.*

The Grand Signior going in perſon to the Wars, according to the ancient cuſtom of other *Sultans*, beſtows a largeſs on the *Spahees*, of Five thouſand Aſpers a Man, which they call *Sadack Akchiaſi*, or a donative for buying Bows and Arrows; as alſo to the *Janizaries*, as we ſhall hereafter mention.

This Army of *Spahees* is in the War a meer confuſed multitude without any Government, or diſtribution into Troops or Regiments, but march in heaps, fight without order, little account kept of their preſence or abſence from the Camp; only at the pay in the month of * *November* whoſoever appears not, unleſs favoured by the Officers, hath his name raced from the Grand Signiors Regiſter.

Their Diſcipline.

* Called in Turkiſh *Kaſſem Ulefaſt.*

Their duty in the War is to ſtand Centinel with a *Janizary* at the end of every Cord at the Grand Signiors Pavilion, as alſo at the Viſiers, armed with his Cimetar, Bows, Arrows, and Lance, mounted on Horſe-back; as the *Janizary* on foot with his Sword and Musket; and alſo the charge of the Treaſure for payment of the Militia, is committed in the field to their cuſtody.

This Order of Soldiers was in ancient times in great

How they have loſt their honour.

great eſteem and honour in all parts of the Empire, by reaſon of their accompliſhments in Learning, refined Education in the Imperial Court, their nearneſs to Preferments, and acquaintance and intereſt with the Grandees of the Empire: The place of the *Selibtari* in their marches to the War, was to flank the Grand Signior on the left hand, and the *Spahi Oglani* on the right, and were always the ultimate reſerve of the Battel, as the Life-guard to the *Sultan:* But like men not knowing how to comport themſelves in proſperity, growing mutinous and ambitious to have a hand in the Government, became Confederates with the *Janizaries* in conſpiracy againſt the life of their true Sovereign *Sultan Oſman*; to which Treaſon adding other Inſolencies, they juſtly were deprived of the favour of *Sultan Morat*, and *Sultan Ibrahim*; the terrors alſo of their late Sedition remaining freſhly ſtill impreſſed in the memory of this preſent Emperor *Sultan Mahomet*, when they complotted againſt his own and his Mothers life, is the cauſe they have gone ſtill declining from the degree of their priſtine honour and eſteem; for the Prince as he is the Fountain of Honor, ſo is his countenance and favour the ſpirit and life which gives a luſter and ſparkling to thoſe Titles and Riches he hath conferred; other Seditions haſtned the ruine of their reputation, and in the year 1657. when the Viſier *Mahomet Kupriuli*, on occaſion of his Expedition againſt *Janova*, ſummoned the *Aſian Spahees* to the Rendezvous in *Hungary*, who inſtead of yielding obedience to the command of their General, elected a new Captain, a *Spahee* of their own rank, called *Haſſan Aga*, preferred to be *Paſhaw* of *Aleppo*: whoſe name at that time, I remember, upon the hopes of the diſſentions he might create amongſt the *Turks*, was greatly famed and celebrated over all *Chriſtendom*. Theſe Combuſtions in

Aſia

Aſia headed by the chief Enemy to the Viſier, cauſed *Kupriuli* to leave many of his deſigns againſt *Tranſilvania* uneffected, and to clap up a Peace on reaſonable and moderate terms of honour, that ſo he might hinder the progreſs of a dangerous evil which now threatned and approached the Capital City; for by this time *Haſſan Paſhaw* being arrived near the Walls of *Scutara*, began to treat by way of Petition to the Grand Signior, and repreſent that out of his zeal to the good of his Majeſty and his Empire, he had undertaken a long march to inform him of the corruption of his Miniſters, and the miſcarriages of Government; his tender years as yet not having ripened his judgment to penetrate theſe evils, which with time his underſtanding would diſcover to be too inveterate and incurable. All the oppreſſions and aggrievances of the Soldiery he ſeemed to object to the cruelty and oppreſſion of *Kupriuli*, and in appearance, had nothing but thoughts of the honour and ſafety of the Grand Signiors perſon; and doubtleſs this man was unfit to manage ſuch a deſign; for he entertained ſcruples of Conſcience, and a remorſe and tenderneſs in ſpilling *Mahometan* Blood, conſiderations which are incompatible with the condition of a Rebel; for who hath the impiety to draw his Sword againſt his Prince, muſt ſtop at no bars either of Divine or humane right to maintain it. This gave advantage to *Kupriuli* to effect his deſign upon his Enemy; for in the interim of this Treaty, *Mortaza Paſhaw* of *Babylon*, was commanded to poſſeſs the City of *Aleppo*, and *Haſſan*, after many fair meſſages and promiſes from the Grand Signior and the Viſier, was perſwaded to return again to *Aleppo*, to capitulate with *Mortaza* concerning thoſe points and aggrievances he ſought to have redreſſed; it being alledged to him, that *Mortaza* had received inſtructions to treat, and a Plenipotentiary power to

grant

grant and firm as far as ſhould be reaſonable and honourable for the Grand Signior to condeſcend. *Haſſan* with this eaſie anſwer returned toward *Aleppo*; near which place he credulouſly committed himſelf into the hands of *Mortaza*, who no ſooner had him within his Tents, but he concluded all controverſies and capitulations by the deciſion of his head from his body: The whole Army of *Spahees* immediately, with the fall of their General. was ſcattered, and divided themſelves; but about three hundred of them being apprehended by *Mortaza*, were ſent to *Conſtantinople*, where, in the preſence of the Grand Signior within the Walls of the *Seraglio* at *Scutari* they were all executed; ſince which their pride hath ever gone declining, and their name become ſo odious amongſt the people, that upon the very nominating a *Spahee*, the vulgar were ready to run upon them with ſtones, or other Weapons that came next to hand; ſo that now the *Spahees* are much eclipſed in their ancient fame and honour.

There are beſides theſe two foregoing ſorts of *Spahees*, other four, the firſt called *Sag Ulefigi*, that is appointed to march on the right hand of the *Spahaoglani*, and carry white and red Colours. The ſecond is *Sol Ulefigi*, whoſe place is on the left hand of the *Selahtari*; which carry white and yellow Colours. The third *Sagureba*, that is Soldiers of Fortune that are to march on the right hand of the *Sag Ulefigi*, and carry green Colours. The fourth is *Sol Gureba*, whoſe place is to march on the left hand of the *Ulefigi*, and carry white Banners: but theſe four ſorts of *Spahees* are raiſed and liſted according to neceſſity and occaſions of War, and are obliged to all ſervices and duties; their pay is from 12 Aſpers to 20 a day, and are capable according to their merits, of being promoted to one of the

ſuperior

ſuperiour Orders. There is alſo another ſort of more elevated *Spahees* called *Mutafaraca*, who iſſue out from the *Seraglio* with more favour than the ordinary ſort of *Spahees*, and are four or five hundred in number, their pay is forty Aſpers a day, and have always the obligation or duty on them to ſerve and attend the Grand Signior when he goes in progreſs for pleaſure from one Village to another.

And thus much ſhall ſerve to have declared in brief concerning the inſtitution and diſcipline of the *Spahees*, as alſo of all the Militia of the *Turkiſh* Horſe; we ſhall now proceed to declare ſomething of their Infantry.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Janizaries.

THE next main ſinew of the *Ottoman* Power is the Order of *Janizaries*, which is as much as to ſay, the new Militia, and yet their Antiquity may be deduced from *Ottoman* the firſt King of the *Turks*; but becauſe they received honours and priviledges from *Amurath* their third King, our *Turkiſh* Hiſtory accounts that to be the time of the firſt original: it is certain that in his time they were modelized, and certain Laws preſcribed both for their education and maintenance; when by the counſel of *Catradin*, otherwiſe called *Kara Ruſthenes*, *Amurath*'s Prime Viſier, it was ordained that for the augmentation of this Militia, every fifth Captive taken from the Chriſtians, above the age of fifteen years, ſhould be the dues of the *Sultan*, who at firſt were to be diſtri- Their beginning.



A Janizary.

buted amongſt the *Turkiſh* Husbandmen in *Aſia*, to learn and be inſtructed in the *Turkiſh* Language and Religion.

Their number at firſt was not accounted above ſix or ſeven thouſand, now with time they are encreaſed to the number of twenty thouſand effective men: but were there a liſt taken of all thoſe who aſſume this title of *Janizary*, and enjoy their Priviledges, though not their Pay, there would be found above 100000; ſix or ſeven go under the name of one *Janizary*, for gaining by this means a priviledg of being free from all duties and Taxes, they beſtow a certain ſum of Money or annual Preſents on the Officers, in couſideration of which they are owned and countenanced as *Janizaries*. Their Habit is as the Picture repreſents, wearing always the Beard of the Chin and under Lip ſhaven, which ſome ſay they learned from the *Italians*; but certain it is, that this cuſtom is more ancient, than ſince the time of their Neighbourhood unto *Italy*: this manner of their ſhaving being generally uſed as a token of their ſubjection, and ſo all the Pages and Officers in the *Seraglio* of great Men, Orders of Gardeners, *Baltages* or Hatchet-men, and others, are diſtinguiſhed by this mark to be in ſervice, and obliged to the attendance of a Maſter: But when they are either licenſed from the War, or promoted to Office, or freed to their own diſpoſal, they immediately ſuffer their Beards to grow as a ſign of their liberty and gravity.

Their number.

Their Habit.

In former times this Militia conſiſted only of the Sons of Chriſtians, educated in the *Mahometan* Rights; but of late that Politick cuſtom hath been diſuſed, the reaſon of which ſome attribute to the abundance of people the *Turks* have of their own to ſupply all their occaſions: but I am induced rather to another opinion, having not obſerved the multitude

The *Janizaries* of whom compoſed.

which Hiſtories and Travellers tell us, that the *Turks* ſwarm with; and rather aſſign the neglect of this practice ſo prejudicial to Chriſtian Intereſt in theſe parts, to the corruption of the Officers, and careleſneſs in their Diſcipline.

The Novices. And though this election of *Janizaries* out of the eldeſt and luſtieſt Sons of Chriſtians that inhabit *Europe* (for *Aſia* was exempted) is now diſuſed; yet ſuch as enter into this Order, whoſoever they are (unleſs the neceſſity of the preſent ſtate of the War be over-urgent) are obliged to perform their Novitiate like *Tyrones Romani*, before they can be enrolled in the Regiſter of *Janizaries*, and are called *Agimoglans*. The chief Officers of theſe are called *Stambol Agaſi*, in whoſe care and charge it is to enure theſe men to all labours, pains, and fortifications, as to cut wood, carry burdens, endure heats, colds, and other ſufferings, which may render them obedient, temperate, vigilant, and patient of all the inconveniences and miſeries of War.

Their Quarters. The quarters many of theſe have in the Garden-Lodges of the Grand Signiors *Seraglio*'s (whereof there are many in and about *Conſtantinople*) to manure and dig the ground, learn the Art of Plantations, and Husbandry, and practiſe, as occaſion requires) meaner Offices of labour and ſervitude: others of them are placed in the three *Seraglio*'s (we have beforementioned in the Chapter of *Spahees*) *viz.* of *Pera*, *Ibrahim Paſhaw*, and *Adrianople*, where their principal art is the myſtery of Plantation and delicious diſpoſal of Gardens into the variety of Knots, Walks, Groves, and Fountains; and though there are many of this Profeſſion who have no other thoughts to employ their minds, few of them are acquainted with any part of polite Husbandry, or know more than the ſeaſon to plant their Hartichoaks or Colworts; as to the rules and ſymmetry of

of ſetting Trees, ordering the Labyrinths of Knots, making pleaſing Walks, Fountains, and Groves; it is ſtrange a people that delight ſo much in Flowers, in Fields, and Arbors, and have themſeves or Anceſtors ruined many of the delightful Paradiſes of Chriſtians, ſhould be ſo wholly ignorant and dull in the contrivance of what they love, as not to be able to borrow one example or model, which amongſt all the Grand Signiors Gardens in *Conſtantinople* may deſerve a better name than of a Wilderneſs.

Others of theſe *Agiamoglans* are made *Baltages* or Hatchet-men to cut out wood for the *Seraglio*; others are made Cooks and Officers in the Kitchin, ſuch, I mean, as can already ſpeak the *Turkiſh* Language, for thoſe that are ignorant in that ſpeech, or in the *Mahometan* Religion, are diſpoſed into remoter parts of *Anatolia*, where the *Janizaries* have Poſſeſſions and Authority; as to *Ciotahia*, where the * Lieutenant General of the *Janizaries* hath a Revenue; to *Karahizar* and *Angura*, where the *Stambol Agaſi* hath principal power; to *Menteſche*, *Sultan Ughi*, and *Karoſi*, where the *Turnagibatch* and *Jaiabatchi*, who are chief Officers of the *Janizaries*, have Rents and Profits belonging to their Offices, and here they are employed in ploughing and ſowing the Ground, or other laborious exerciſes, until ſuch time as ſupplies for the Wars give them occaſion to draw out theſe men from their ſeveral ſtations; and then being called to the Chambers of *Janizaries*, they orderly march one after the other according to their ſeniority, one holding the end of his fellows Garment, appear before the Muſter-Maſter, who having enrolled their names in the Grand Signiors Regiſter, they run as faſt as they can by their *Odabaſche* or Maſter of their Chamber, who gives every one as he paſſes a blow under the Ear, to ſignifie their ſubjection to him: and this

* Called *Kiahaia-Begh.*

The manner in making *Janizaries.*

is the Ceremony obſerved in creating *Janizaries.*

Their Pay. At their firſt Enrolment ſome have but one Aſper a day, others four and five, unto ſeven and a half; and ſo with time and favour of their Officers, encreaſe to twelve Aſpers a day, which is the higheſt pay of any *Janizary*, and can have no other advance, unleſs good Fortune promote them to the degree of a *Kiahaia Begh*, which is as much as Lieutenant-General of the *Janizaries*, or any other eminent Office.

Their Diet & Cloathing. Beſides this Pay, they have their daily Proviſion and Diet from the bounty of the Grand Signior, and their Table ordered at conſtant hours, where they find their Rice, fifty drams of Fleſh, and one hundred of Bread their ordinary Commons, and eat in their reſpective Refectories like Monks in Convents, or Scholars in their Colledges; they receive alſo one Soldiers Coat yearly, of Cloth made at *Salonica* of a coarſe thread, but warm and convenient, which in every Month of *Ramazan* is diſtributed to each Chamber; ſo that their Bellies are full, and backs are warm, and in all points are better provided than the tattered Infantry which are to be ſeen in moſt parts of *Chriſtendom.* And thus this people being pampered without cares of ſeeking their Bread, grow often querulous and apt to take the fire of Sedition with every ſpark of diſcontent in their Officers; the beginnings of which they commonly make known at their Aſſemblies of the publick *Divan*, whither four or five hundred of them are obliged four times a week, that is Saturday, Sunday, Monday, and Tueſday, to accompany the *Janizar Aga*, or their General; at that place they have their Commons from the Grand Signiors Kitchin: which when they have any ſubject of diſcontent they evidence by ſlighting, kicking down their

their Plates of Rice, and ſhewing better ſtomachs to be revenged, than to their Entertainment; which Mutinies the Grand Signior and principal Miniſters having found oftentimes fatal, endeavour by fair promiſes and ſatisfactory compliance with their deſires to pacifie in their firſt motion. Mutinies.

The General of this Militia is called *Janizar Agaſi*, and is always elected from the Royal Chamber of the *Seraglio*; becauſe it being an Office of great charge, it is thought neceſſary to be intruſted to one whoſe Education and Preferment hath made a Creature of the Court; which Policy hath been the ſuppreſſion of divers Mutinies amongſt the *Janizaries*, the diſcovery of their Combination, and an engagement to a ſtronger dependancy on the favour of the *Seraglio*. When this General either dies by a natural death, or the Sword of the Grand Signiors Juſtice or Authority, his Riches, like that of other *Paſhaws*, is not confiſcated to the *Sultans* Exchequer; but the Inheritance accrues to the publick Treaſury of the *Janizaries*; which how dangerous it is to a State to have a Militia endowed with Revenues appropriated to their Officers (as already we have declared they poſſeſs in ſome parts of *Anatolia*) and a Bank of Wealth united to the maintenance of a licentious Sword, the *Ottoman* Princes have by ſad effects rather felt, than able by vertue of their abſolute Power to remedy. * *Hazoda.* The *Janizar Aga.* The publick Treaſury of the *Janizaries*

The ſecond chief Officer is the *Kirhaia Begh*, Lieutenant-General. Officers.

The third is *Seghban baſchi*, the Overſeer of the Carriage of the Soldiers Baggage.

The fourth is the *Turnagi Baſhee*, or Guardian of the Grand Signiors Cranes.

The fifth is the *Samſongi Baſhee*, chief Maſter of the Grand Signiors Maſtives.



Janyzar Agasi or Generall of the Janizaries

The ſixth is the *Zagargi Baſhee*, Maſter of the Spaniels.

The ſeventh is the *Solack Baſhee*, Captain of the Archers, or of ſuch of the *Janizaries* who go armed with Bow and Arrows.

The Eighth is *Subaſhi* and *Aſſasbaſhi*, who are chief of the Serjeants and Bailiffs, and attend always at the Grand Signiors Stirrop when at any time on ſolemn occaſions he ſhews himſelf to the people.

The ninth is the *Peikbaſhi*, or Commander of that ſort of Pages which are called *Peiks*, who wear Caps of beaten Gold, of which there are 60 in number, who march at Solemnities together with the *Solacks* near the perſon of the Grand Signior.

The tenth is *Mezurga*, or the head Baily of the *Janizaries*.

Theſe eight laſt ariſe from the order of the *Janizaries*, and have their ſeveral Commands in the Army, tho the Grand Signior, to augment their Power and Honour the more, beſtows on them Titles and Wealth in other Offices.

The *Janizaries* Chambers (of which there are no others but in *Conſtantinople*) are in number 162, of which 80 are of ancient Foundation, and are called *Eskai Odalar*: and 82 called *Jeni Odalar*, or the new Chambers; over moſt of which is a *Tchorbagi* or Captain. In theſe Chambers thoſe that are not married enjoy their Lodgings and Habitation; and twice a day find their Repaſt, as we have beforementioned: And thus inſtead of Monaſteries of Friers, the *Turk* maintains Convents and Societies of Soldiers, who are trained up with all modeſty and ſeverity of Diſcipline. The *Janizaries* Chambers.

The

The principal Officers of theſe Chambers are,

Officers of the Chambers.

Firſt, the *Odabaſhee*, or Maſter of the Chamber, who in the Wars ſerve as Lieutenants of the Company.

Second is *Wekilbarg*, or Expenditor for maintenance of the Chamber.

The third is *Bairackter*, or Enſign-bearer.

Fourth is *Aſhgee*, or the Cook of the Chamber.

Fifth is *Karakullukgee*, or the under-Cook.

Sixth is the *Saka*, or the Water-carrier.

The Cook is not only an Officer to dreſs the Diet and Proviſion of the *Janizaries*, but is alſo a Monitor or Obſerver of their good behaviour; ſo that when any one of them commits a Crime, the Cook is the Officer that executes the puniſhment. The under Cook alſo ſerves for an Apparitor, and is he who ſummons the married *Janizaries* at their ſeveral Dwellings in *Conſtantinople*, when their Officers command their attendance.

Janizaries married.

The greateſt part of the *Janizaries* conſiſts of Bathchellors or ſingle Men; for though Marriage cannot be denied to any of them, yet it is that which determines their Preferments, and renders their Seniority uncapable of claiming a right to Offices, or Military Advancement; for being incumbred with Wife, and other Dependencies, they are judged in a condition not capable to attend the Diſcipline of the War, or ſervice of the Grand Signior; and therefore as to other duty in the times of Peace, beſides their appearance every Friday in their Chambers, and preſence of their Officers, they wholly are diſpenſed with.

In the Wars this Militia is conſider'd as the moſt valiant and beſt diſciplined Soldiery of the *Turkiſh* Camp, and therefore are either kept as a Reſerve,

or

or march in the main Body of the Army. In times of Peace their Quarters are many times changed, to keep them in employment, from one Caſtle or Gariſon to another, as to *Buda*, *Kaniſia*, *Temeſwar*, to *Rhodes*, *Canea*, and other parts: ſome of them are appointed to keep Courts of Guard at all Gates and Avenues of *Conſtantinople*, to prevent the Inſolencies and Injuries their Companions are apt to offer to Chriſtians, Jews, and others in the Streets, who at ſometimes, being heated with Wine, have in open Market forced Women whilſt their Comrades have with their * Daggers drawn ſtood over them to defend them from the people; to prevent which diſorders, the *Janizar Agaſi* accuſtoms to ride the Streets attended with about 40 *Mumigies*, or Bailiffs of the *Janizaries*, where meeting any guilty of ſuch like Crimes, or other Enormities, he ſeizes them and carries them to his Court, where after examination of their fault, he orders them to be beaten, or if their Crime be great, to be ſtrangled, or ſowed in a Sack and thrown into the Sea; but always their puniſhment is inflicted privately, perhaps becauſe they are jealous of a Mutiny.

* Called *Haniarres*.

In every Province the *Janizaries* have their *Serdars*, who are Colonel or chief of all the *Janizaries* within that Juriſdiction, who greatly abuſe their Office by taking into their protection any that preſent or pay them for this Priviledge; by which means they have grown ſo powerful and rich, that ſome time paſt the Command of the whole *Ottoman* Empire hath repoſed in the hands of this Militia. *Serdars.*

Their Arms are Muſquets and Swords, they fight confuſedly in the Field, and with no more order than the *Spahees*; only ſometimes they draw themſelves up into *Cunei*, obſerved amongſt the *Romans*.

And

And thus much ſhall ſerve to have ſpoken of the Inſtitution and Diſcipline of the *Janizaries*: We ſhall now proceed to declare how this Militia is decayed, and upon what grounds it is not maintained in its ancient honour and flouriſhing Eſtate.

CHAP. VIII.

Whether the maintenance of an Army of Janizaries *according to the Original Inſtitution, be now agreeable to the Rules of Polity amongſt the* Turks.

Epiſt. 3. de Legatu Turcico.

THis Problem I find firſt moved by *Busbequius*, once the *German* Emperors Ambaſſador to *Conſtantinople*, who pretends to ſpeak the Grand Signiors ſenſe in this particular, on occaſions of difference which the inſolent rudeneſs of the *Janizaries* had caus'd between themſelves and his Family: For *Ruſan Paſhaw* then Prime Viſier, admoniſhed him friendly to condeſcend to any terms of compoſition, for that Law could not avail where Soldiers ruled; and the powerful *Soliman* himſelf, who then reigned, trembled at nothing more than the apprehenſion of ſome ſecret Ulcer of perfidiouſneſs, which might lie concealed within the retirement of the *Janizaries*.

But as there is no queſtion, but a ſtanding Army of veterane and well-diſciplined Soldiers muſt be always uſeful and advantageous to the Intereſt of a Prince; ſo, on the contrary, negligence in the Officers, and remiſneſs of Government, produces that licentiouſneſs and wreſtleſneſs in the Soldiery, as betrays

trays them to all the diſorders which are dangerous, and of evil conſequence to the welfare of a State.

And ſo it hath fared with the *Ottoman* Empire, which riſing only by the power of Arms, and eſtabliſhed on the blood of many valiant and daring Captains, gave Priviledges, Honours and Riches to the Militia, and at all times encouraged their proweſs and forwardneſs by Rewards, and Connivance at their Crimes; by which indulgence and impunity, theſe men ill-principled in rules of Virtue, and unequally bearing proſperity, and the favour of the Prince, have for a long time beeen gathering a ſtock of ill humours ready to receive any contagion of ſeditious deſign, and to maintain it with an impudence contrary to the *Janizaries* for ſome ages, which may equal the levity of the *Roman* Soldiery, until they ſhameleſly ſet their Empire to ſale, and forgot both their old obedience to the Senate, and reverence to their new Emperors.

The death and ruin of many Grandees, and of the *Sultan* himſelf by ſuch like Seditions, hath at length by dear experience taught the principal Miniſters how unſafe it is to permit an Army lodged in the bowels of the Capital City, of a diſpoſition favourable to it ſelf, envious, and impatient of any other, jealous, and always at enmity with the Court, rich and powerful, with Poſſeſſions and Rents appertaining to its Commanders in *Anatolia*, and a Treaſury of unknown ſums, which have deſcended to the common Bank by the deceaſe of their Generals or *Janizar Aga*'s; and therefore have by degrees, and as prudently as might be, begun to diminiſh the ſtrength of this Militia by the deſtruction of the veterane Soldiers, and ruin of their reputation by various arts, in the eſtimation of the world.

The particular means whereby the *Janizaries* have been

been ſtudiouſly deſtroyed, are by many ways evident; for firſt they are expoſed upon every obſcure Service, and drawn forth to encounter every Aſſault of the Empire; as the Wars of *Candy* have exhauſted the flower of this Militia, the Battels at Sea buried vaſt numbers, who were formerly reſerved for times of eminent exploits and glory.

Secondly, Which deſtruction of the veterane Soldiers hath created other miſchiefs to this Order, in point of Diſcipline, as prejudicial as the former; for as the *Agiamoglans* were obliged to perform ſix or ſeven years Novitiate, now by reaſon of the conſtant neceſſities to ſupply the Wars, they overskip the orderly formalities of the firſt Inſtitution, and create them *Janizaries* after a year; or half a years ſervice. And others I have known educated in Mechanick profeſſions, and from framing Timber and carrying Burdens in the Arſenal, have at once for the ſervice of *Candy* been created *Janizaries*, who neither know how to manage a Musket, nor are otherwiſe diſciplined to any exerciſe of Arms.

Thirdly, That *Europe* may not be diſpeopled by the triennial ſeiſure of Chriſtian Children for the Grand Signiors ſervice, which in *Turkiſh* is called *Deuſchirme*, that politick Cuſtom and principal conſervation of the Diſcipline of *Janizaries* is, as we have ſaid before, wholly forgotten, and inſtead thereof election is made of Vagabonds, that proffer themſelves out of *Aſia*, or other parts, who having paſſed five or ſix months like Novices, are afterwards made *Janizaries*; and being ignorant in the uſe of Arms, and unaccuſtomed to labours and ſufferings, run from their Colours, and renounce their Order, which has been in times paſt one of the moſt honourable in the whole Empire.

Fourthly, The old veterane Officers, which had by degrees and ſteps proceeded to honour methodically

dically from inferiour Soldiers, have either by their own ſeditious ſpirits, or jealouſies of the Prince, been diſpeeded from this World, and in their places the Sons of *Conſtantinopolitan Janizaries* ſucceeded, who have been bred up with ſoftneſs and effeminacy; and their *Tchorbagees* or Captains have not obtained their Commands by time by valour, but Buy their Places with Money and Preſents to their Prime Officers.

Fifthly, And to forward the decay of this Militia, and to take off their warlike and haughty Courages, the confinement to their Chambers is not ſevere, but liberty given upon colour of Poverty and impoſſibility of livelihood on their mean Pay, to attend other Trades and Services, whereby the exerciſe of Arms and thoughts of the War is converted to Mechanick Arts, and an intention to ways of maintenance of themſelves and families.

Sixthly, Hope of reward and fear of puniſhment, which are the incitements to worthy actions and reſtrictions from the vileſt crimes, are rarely held up to the *Janizaries* in theſe times for their encouragement or terror; for without Money to the ſuperiour Officers none of them obtains Preferment; nor can any worn out with age and wounds procure diſmiſſion from the War with the enjoyment of the uſual ſtipend, who are called by the Turks *Oturak*, and by the Latins *Exauctorati*; and on the contrary the Children of Offices born in *Conſtantinople* are often made *Oturaks* in their Cradles, and luſty Youths are with favour and money exempted in the flower of age from the labours of War, and yet enjoy the benefits due to a toilſome Militia.

And yet, as if all the connivance at theſe various diſorders and ſubverſion of the good inſtitutions of this Soldiery were not ſufficient to impoveriſh their ſpirits, to mould them into a more effeminate temper,

temper, and cauſe them to loſe their intereſt and reputation: it is the common opinion that the Viſier *Kupriuli* laid the deſigns for the late War with *Germany* before his death, and enjoined it to his Son to proſecute, with an intention, amongſt other expectations of benefit to the Empire, to complete the final deſtruction of the ancient *Spahees* and *Janizaries*, ſo as to be able to lay a foundation of new Diſcipline, which may more eaſily for the future reſtrain the *Turkiſh* Militia within the compaſs of better modeſty and obedience: which deſign hath taken ſo ſevere effect in the War of *Hungary*, in the year 1664. that the bloodieſt part of ſlaughter in the Battels fell on the *Janizaries* and *Spahees*, and by how much more any were more bold and forward in their attempts, by ſo much more fatal and haſty was their ruine; ſo that it is reported, that the valianteſt Soldiers of the Confines, the veterane and beſt diſciplined of the *Spahees* and *Janizaries*, and the beſt number of their skilful Commanders and expert Captains periſhed promiſcuouſly together, to the great damage and weakning to the *Ottoman* Power; ſo that now it is not probable that a new Militia ſucceeding, capable of receiving other Cuſtoms and Laws, and neither remembring nor concerned in former Mutinies, will adventure to follow the ſeditious practices of their Predeceſſors; for men are commonly modeſt at their firſt entrance into any condition; and unleſs debauched by corruption and Government, are eaſily contained within the bounds of reaſonable moderation. And yet notwithſtanding that the pride of the *Turkiſh* Religion is reduced to ſo low an abatement of their power, and to a condition eaſily for the future with good management to be ruled; yet this preſent *Sultan Mahomet* ſtill retaining

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the memory and impreſſion of the amazement he ſuffered in his infancy on occaſion of a dangerous combination and conſpiracy of the *Janizaries*, will never confide himſelf to their guard, nor be reconciled to *Conſtantinople*, in conſideration of the many Chambers it contains of that loathed Militia, which have been ſo many Nurſeries and Seminaries of Treaſons complotted againſt him ſelf, and his other Progenitors.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Chiauſes.

THeſe having both offenſive and defenſive Arms aſſigned them, may be reckoned in the number of the Militia, though their Office being chiefly in relation to Civil Proceſſes and Laws, they may rather deſerve the name of Purſuivants or Serjeants: They are in number about 5 or 600, their pay is from 12 to 40 Aſpers a day; and chief Officer is called *Chiaus Baſchee*, to whoſe cuſtody Priſoners of Quality are committed; their place of Attendance is the Palace of the Prime Viſier, to be ready on all occaſions to carry Letters and Commands to any part of the Empire; ſuch Chriſtian Renegadoes as become Turks, they moſt commonly for their encouragement and ſubſiſtence in the *Mahometan* Superſtition, admit into this Rank; becauſe having commonly an endowment of other Languages beſides the *Turkiſh*, are moſt ſerviceable on meſſages into foreign Countries; and ſometimes are ſent with the Title of Ambaſſadors, as one was once into *Eng-*



Delee, or one of the Viziers Guard.

land, *France*, and *Holland*. Their Arms are a Scimetar, a Bow, and Arrows, and a Truncheon with a knob at the end, called in *Turkiſh Topous*; thoſe of theſe Officers that are Servants to the Viſier or *Beglerbegs*, carry this Truncheon covered with Silver, called in *Turkiſh Tcheughian*; but the *Chiauſes* of ſimple *Paſhaws* only of Wood: their Harveſt they make upon the occaſions of Law-Suits and Differences between one party and another, being Apparitors or Serjeants to call the guilty perſon to juſtice; or if the buſineſs comes to compoſition, they commonly are in the midſt to perſwade both ſides to reaſon, in which action they want not their Fees or acknowledgment of labour from both Parties.

CHAP. X.

Of the other parts of the Turkiſh Militia, the Toptchi.

THeſe are Gunners, called ſo from the word *Tope*, which in *Turkiſh* ſignifies a Cannon; and are in number about 1200 diſtributed in 52 Chambers; their quarters are at *Tophana*, on the place of Guns in the Suburbs of *Conſtantinople*; few of theſe are expert in their art, and are ill practiſed in the Proportions and Mathematical part of the Gunners Myſtery; for were they as skilful as many Engineers in the World, they might doubtleſs with that train of vaſt Artillery they either march with in their Camp, or found in their Trenches, give much more annoyance to the Chriſtian Forces: And therefore knowing their own imperfections in

this exerciſe, when Chriſtian Gunners are taken in the War, they entertain them with better uſage than other Captives, quartering them in the Chambers appropriated to that Profeſſion, allotting them with others a pay from 8 to 12 Aſpers a day; but becauſe this is too conſiderable a maintenance to allure men who are otherwiſe principled, moſt of them as occaſion offers, deſert the ſervice of the *Turk*, and fly to their own Country.

Their Officers are,

1. The *Topgibaſchi*, or General of the Ordinance.

2. The *Dukigibaſchi*, or the chief of them that found the great Guns.

3. The *Odabaſchi*, the chief of all the Chambers of the Gunners in the Suburbs of *Conſtantinople*.

4. Is the *Kiatib* or their Muſter-Maſter, who is always a *Spahee*.

Their Guns are the biggeſt, and as well caſt and moulded as any in the World; for the laſt Expedition in *Hungary* there were 40 Pieces of new Cannon caſt and tranſported by way of the Black Sea, and thence by the *Danube* unto *Belgrade* and *Buda*. Their Gunpowder is made but in ſmall quantities about *Conſtantinople*, but comes from divers places of *Europe*; but that from *Damaſcus* is moſt eſteemed. The biggeſt ſize of their Bullets are from 36 to 40 inches Diameter, but theſe are moſt commonly of Stone, which they make uſe of in the Caſtles or Block-houſes ſituate on the Sea, as at the Caſtles upon the *Helleſpont*, called anciently *Seſtos* and *Abidos*, and at the Forts at entrance of the Black Sea. Once an *Engliſh* Man, Gunner of a Ship which lay at *Conſtantinople*, had the curioſity and confidence to meaſure the dimenſions of theſe bullets;

lets; but being apprehended in the very act, was impriſoned for a Spy; but by the interceſſion of our Embaſſador then Reſident, with much labour and ſome expence was at length releaſed.

Of the Gebegees.

Theſe are Armourers; ſo called from the word *Gebees*, which ſignifies in *Turkiſh* as much as Arms of back and breaſt; they are in number 630 diſtributed into 60 Chambers, and have their quarters near the Church of *Santa Sophia* in *Conſtantinople*; their Office is to conſerve the Arms of ancient times from ruſt, by cleaning and oyling of them, ſo as to remain as Trophies for ever of the *Turkiſh* Conqueſts: Their pay is from 8 to 12 Aſpers a day; their Officers are firſt the *Gebegibaſchi*, who is their Commander in chief. 2. The *Odobaſhees*, who are ſo many Maſters of the Chambers. On all expeditions theſe Armourers are neceſſary Officers; and oftentimes in days of Battel diſtribute forth the antique Arms, of which they have a care, into the hands of the *Janizaries*: but of theſe, men that are indifferently rich, and have favour and friends, enjoy their pay with eaſe at their own homes; and like other **Ogiacks* are capable of being made *Oturachs*, or retaining their Penſion with a diſpenſation from the War.

* *Ogiacks* ſignifies a Family, as alſo a Military Family; ſo *Spahi Ogiaghi*, the Order of the *Spahees*; *Soniſcheri Ogiaghi*, the Militia of *Janizaries*, &c.



The Chaousbash or Chiefe the Pursuivants

Of the Delees.

Delee ſignifies as much as a mad fellow, or a Hector; theſe are the Prime Viſiers Life-guard, and are in number from 120 to 400, more or leſs, according as the Viſier is more or leſs rich and ſplendid in his Retinue; their Pay is from 12 to 15 Aſpers a day; they are by Nation of *Boſna*, or *Albania*; their Habit is very ridiculous according to this Picture; they are men choſen for their great ſtature and ſtomachs; they ſpeak big, talk of nothing but killing and adventurous exploits, but in reality their heart and courage is not eſteemed proportionable to their bulk and bodies: in the City they march before the Viſier on foot, and make way for him to the *Divan*; on journies they are too heavy and lazy not to be well mounted; they have a Captain over them called the *Delibaſchi*, their Arms are a Lance after the *Hungarian* faſhion, a Sword, and Pole-Axe, and ſome of them carry a Piſtol at their Girdle. This ſort of people being naturally more faithful than the *Turks*, and more inclinable to the Viſier *Kupriuli*, for being of the ſame Country, he maintained 2000 of them for his Guard: which was ſo great a curb to the *Janizaries* and the other Militia, that they were never able to execute any Conſpiracy againſt him. The ſame courſe his Son the preſent Viſier follows, and is doubtleſs next the Grand Signiors favour, his principal ſecurity.

Of the Segbans *and* Sarigias.

It is not to be omitted that the *Beglerbegs* and *Paſhaws* maintain always a Militia called *Segbans*, to whoſe cuſtody the charge of the Baggage be-

longing to the Horſe is committed; and a ſelect number called *Sarigias.* to whoſe care the Baggage of the Infantry is entruſted; theſe ſerve on foot with Muſquets like *Janizaries*, and the others on Horſe-back like Dragoons in *Chriſtendom*; their Pay beſides their Meat is 3 or 4 Dollars a Month. The *Beglerbegs* have oftentimes on occaſion of their Rebellion enrolled many of this ſort of Militia to encounter the *Janizaries*; the which was practiſed in theſe late times by *Ipchir Paſhaw*, *Haſan Paſhaw*, and *Murteza Paſhaw*, who having liſted great numbers to fight under this denomination, the Viſier *Kuprili* for terror and more eaſie deſtruction of this people, proclaimed through all *Aſia*, that ſtrict inquiſition ſhould be made after the *Segbans* and *Sarigias*, and that it might be lawful for any one to kill and deſtroy them without mercy; by which means many were butchered in ſeveral places, and 30000 of them revolted to the *Sofi* of *Perſia*.

The Muhlagi *and* Beſli,

Are the Servants of *Beglerbegs* and *Paſhaws*; the firſt make profeſſion of a principal art in Horſemanſhip, and exerciſe themſelves in throwing the *Gilid*, which is a Dart much uſed amongſt the *Turks*, in the true management of which there is a great dexterity; and becauſe there are conſiderable rewards beſtowed on thoſe who are expert herein, the *Turks* practiſe it on Horſeback as their only exerciſe and ſtudy: very much delight herein the Grand Signiors have always taken, and to be Spectators of the Combats between the ſervants of ſeveral *Paſhaws* born in different Countries and Nations, who from a Principle of honour to their Nation, and hopes of Preferment, contend with that heat

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and malice one againſt the other, as ſurpaſs the cruelty of the ancient Gladiators; and not only limbs or eyes are loſt in this skirmiſh, but oftentimes ſacrifice their blood and life for the paſtime of their Prince. Such as are obſerved to be bold, active and dextrous at this Game, are preferred to the degree and benefit of a *Zaim* or *Timariot*. The *Beſlees* are Footmen, who for their great abilities in walking and running, attain oftentimes to be made *Janizaries*.

And thus we have now, with as much brevity as may be, run through the ſeveral Degrees, Numbers, Inſtitutions, Laws, and Diſcipline of the *Turkiſh* Militia by Land: whoſe farther progreſs into *Chriſtendom*, and damage to the Chriſtian Cauſe, may the Almighty Providence ſo diſappoint, that his Church corrected and grown more pious by this chaſtiſement, may at length be relieved from the Rod and Yoke of this great Oppreſſor.

CHAP. XI.

Certain Obſervations on the Turkiſh Camp; and the Succeſs of the laſt Battel againſt the Chriſtians.

IN the year of our Lord 1665. the Earl of *Winchelſea*, our Lord Ambaſſador for certain Affairs of His Majeſty and the Company of Merchants, having commanded me to meet the great Viſier in his return from the Wars in *Hungary*; through ill, or rather uncertain information of the Viſiers motion, I was forced to proceed as far as *Belgrade* in *Servia*, on the Confines of *Hungary*, 23 days Journey from *Conſtan-*

Conſtantinople, where finding a good part of the *Turkiſh* Army encamped near that City, for better convenience and expedition of my buſineſs, I entred within the Quarters of the *Spahees*, and pitched my Tent as near the Viſiers and the other principal Officers as conſiſted with due reſpect; in which place I remained ſeven days, until the Army removed towards *Adrianople*; and not having fully compleated my buſineſs there, I marched and remained other 13 days together with the Army: in which time I had leiſure to make ſome reflections on the Order of the *Turkiſh* Camp.

In the front of the Camp are quartered the *Janizaries*, and all others deſtin'd to Foot-ſervice, whoſe Tents encompaſs their *Aga* or General: In the body of the Camp are erected the ſtately Pavilions of the Viſier, of his *Kahija*, or chief Steward or Councellor, the *Reis effendi* or Lord Chancellor, the *Teſterdar Paſcha*, or Lord Treaſurer, and the *Kapiſler Kahiaſee* or Maſter of the Ceremonies; which five Pavilions take up a large extent of ground, leaving a ſpacious Field in the midſt, in the center of which is raiſed a lofty Canopy, under which Offenders are corrected or executed, and ſerves to ſhelter from the Sun or Rain ſuch as attend to the *Divan*, or other buſineſs with the Officers of State. Within the ſame ſpace of ground alſo is the *Haſna* or Treaſury, in ſmall Cheſts one piled on the other, in form of a Circle, for guard of which 15 *Spahees* every night keep watch with their Arms in their hands. Near theſe quarters are the Tents of *Paſhaws*, *Beghs*, *Agaes*, and Perſons of Quality, who with their Retinue ſolely make up a conſiderable part of the *Turkiſh* Army. In the Reer are the quarters of the *Spahees*, and others that attend the Horſe ſervice as *Segbans*, *Sarigias*, & others On the right hand of the Viſier without the Camp, are placed the Artillery, and Ammunition, which

which in the time I was there was inconſiderable, the great Cannon remaining in *Buda* and in the City of *Belgrade*, only 40 or 45 ſmall Field-pieces of Braſs (as I reckoned them) each drawn by four Horſes, marched with the Viſier, more at that time for ſtate and oſtentation, than for real ſervice.

The Pavilions of the great Viſier, and other Perſons of principal Office and Quality, may rather be called Palaces than Tents, being of a large extent, richly wrought within, adorned beyond their Houſes, accommodated with ſtately Furniture, with all the convenience of the City and Country, and in my opinion far exceed the magnificence of the beſt of their Buildings; for being but for few years continuance, the maintenance of them is beyond the expence of Marble and Porphyry, or the perpetual Edifices of *Italy*, durable to many *Olympiads* and *Myriads* of years. With theſe Houſes and movable Habitations, which with the Poſts that ſupport them, are of that great weight and bulk, the *Turkiſh* Army marches daily, four, five, and ſometimes ſix hours Journey; all which Baggage is carried on Horſes, Mules, and Camels; The great Perſons are furniſhed with two ſets of Tents, one of which as the Viſier riſes, is advanced the *Conack* or days Journey beyond; ſo that in the morning leaving one Tent, another is found at noon ready furniſhed and provided at arrival; which is the reaſon why the *Turkiſh* Camp abounds with ſuch multitudes of Camels, Mules, and Horſes of Burden, with ſo many thouſand Attendants on the Baggage, which are of a vaſt expence, and if duly conſidered, is a matter of the greateſt ſtate and magnificence in the *Turkiſh* Empire.

Though it is reported by thoſe who are Soldiers, and have experienced the Valour of the *Turks* in fight, that their Victories are obtained by multi-

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tudes of men, rather than by Art, or Military Diſcipline; however the Conqueſts they have made on the parts of *Chriſtendom*, is a demonſtration undeniable of ſome ſupereminent Order in their Army, which recompences the defect of Knowledg in the true Myſtery of War; and this Regulation (in my opinion) proceeds from nothing more than the ſtrict prohibition of Wine upon pain of death (two Men being executed during the time of my Reſidence there for bringing a ſmall quantity of it in the Field) for hereby men become ſober, diligent, watchful and obedient. In the *Turkiſh* Camp no brawls, quarrels, nor clamours are heard; no abuſes are committed on the people by the march of their Army; all is bought and paid with money, as by Travellers that are Gueſts at an Inn; there are no complaints by Mothers of the Rape of their Virgin-daughters, no Violences or Robberies offered on the Inhabitants; all which order tends to the ſucceſs of their Armies, and Enlargement of their Empire. As on the contrary, the ſloth of the *Germans* and other Nations in their Councels againſt the *Turks*, the liberty given to the Chriſtian Soldiery, or rather the difficulty to correct, proceeds from nothing more than intemperance in Wine, which moves in the Soldiery a luſt and promptitude to all evils, and is occaſion of the horrid outrages they commit, quarrels among themſelves, and diſobedience to their Officers, and betrays oftentimes a whole Army to ruine by ſurpriſal; for how can thoſe men be watchful, whoſe heads are charged with the fumes of Wine, and not yield opportunity of ſad advantages to ſo awakened an Enemy as the *Turk? Busbequius* who had been Ambaſſador from the Emperor to the Grand Signior in two ſeveral Embaſſies, and had known and ſeen the vigilance of the *Turkiſh* Camp, attributes much of their ſucceſs againſt the *Germans*

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to the ancient Vice of Intemperance of his Country: *Neque vero*, ſaith he, *graviore imperio Turcæ Græcos premant, quam nobis dominatur vitia, luxus, crapula.* And ſo ſenſible are the *Turks* of the abuſes and diſorders which ariſe in their Camp by the uſe of Wine, that they endeavour all that is poſſible to debar their people from it, and therefore two or three days before the Army arrives at any place, Officers are diſpatched before to ſeal all Taverns, and make proclamation againſt the ſale of Wine: for tho it be againſt their Law to drink Wine, yet Drunkenneſs is now become ſo common a Vice amongſt them (as we have already declared in the ſecond Book) that ſcarce one in ten but is addicted to a bruitiſh intemperance therein.

The Camp is always free from ordure and filth; there being holes digged near every Tent, which are encompaſſed about with Canvas for the more privacy and accommodation in mens neceſſary occaſions; and whenſoever theſe places become noiſome and full, they are covered with Earth, and the Canvas removed; ſo that the whole Camp is clear of all excrements of men, as alſo kept more free from other ſtench (which may cauſe putrefaction) than the moſt orderly Cities of the World. If the march be in the Summer-time, and the weather hot, the Beaſts of Burden and Baggage begin to travel about ſeven a clock in the evening, and the *Paſhaws* and great Viſier preſently after midnight; who are accompanied with ſo many Lights as equal almoſt the brightneſs of the day. Thoſe that carry theſe Lights are *Arabians* from the parts of *Aleppo* and *Damaſcus*, Men uſed to travel on foot, who are in Turkiſh called *Maſſalageeler*, over whom is a ſuperintendent or chief, called *Maſſalagibaſhee*, whoſe Office it is to govern and to puniſh theſe people, and is liable to anſwer for their diſorders:

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the Lights they carry are not Torches, but a bituminous oily ſort of Wood, which they burn in an Iron Grate, carried on a Staff made in the form of our Beacons; and of the ſame faſhion with thoſe Lights we ſee drawn in ancient Hangings and Pictures which repreſent Night-pieces of *Roman* Stories.

And ſince I have diſcourſed ſomething of the *Turkiſh* Camp in this return homewards, it will not be much from my promiſe to acquaint the Reader with what cheerfulneſs & alacrity the Army marched this way after their ill ſucceſs: and alſo to declare the occaſion that put a Hook into the Noſtrils of this great Oppreſſor, and diverted him for the preſent from the farther ſpoil of *Chriſtendom.* After the taking of the Caſtle called *Serinſwar* by the great Viſier, built by Count *Serini* (the which was the firſt original and occaſion of the War) and the defeat of the *Paſhaw* of *Buda* near *Lewa* by Count *Suſa* Governor of *Gomorra*; the Viſier made many and various attempts to paſs the River *Raab*, to make ſome Conqueſts in the parts of *Croati* and *Styria*, but by reaſon of the Forts the Chriſtians had made along the Banks of the River, in every adventure loſt conſiderable numbers of Men; at which loſs of men and time, and the ill ſucceſs near *Lewa*, the Viſier being greatly moved, made another adventure on the 27*th* of *July*, 1664. advancing with the groſs of his Army as far as *Kerment*, a place between the River *Raab* and *Terne*; endeavouring there to make his paſſage with better ſucceſs; but by the valour of the *Hungarians* and the aſſiſtance of the General *Montecuculi*, were repulſed with extraordinary ſlaughter.

On the firſt of *Auguſt* following the *Turk* made another conſiderable attempt, and paſſed over in one place 6000 *Janizaries* and *Albanians*, and in another

other where the River was fordable, and not above ten paces broad, the whole body of the *Turkiſh* Horſe crouded over in vaſt numbers, which cauſed the Chriſtians to join their Forces into one Army, and retreat farther into the Country, and put themſelves into a poſture of giving Battel to the Enemy.

As ſoon as the *Turkiſh* Army had thus waded over the water, the night following fell ſo much Rain, and ſuch a Deluge came pouring down from the Mountains, that the River which was fordable the day before, did now over-ſwell its own Banks, and not paſſable without Floats and Bridges. As ſoon as the Army had thus paſſed the River, the great Viſier diſpatched immediately Meſſengers to the Grand Signior to acquaint him of his progreſs and paſſage; which news he knew would come very grateful; becauſe in all Letters from the Grand Signior he was urged by threats and poſitive commands to proceed forward in his march, and not to ſuffer the impediment of a narrow ditch to be an interruption to the whole *Ottoman* force which was never before reſtrained by the Ocean. The Grand Signior having received this intelligence, as if the whole Victory and Triumph over the World conſiſted in the paſſage over the *Raab*, was tranſported with ſuch an extraordinary joy and aſſurance of victory, that all *Hungary* and *Germany* were already ſwallowed in his thoughts; and when by a ſecond Meſſage he received intelligence, that a Forlorn Hope of the Enemy, conſiſting of 1000 Men, was cut off, the *Ottoman* Court was ſo tranſported with the joy and aſſurance of Victory, that to anticipate the good news, the Grand Signior commanded that a ſolemn Feſtival ſhould be celebrated for the ſpace of ſeven days and ſeven nights, called by the Turks *Dunalma*; in which time

time the whole nights were ſpent in Fire-works, ſhooting great Guns, Vollies of Muskets, ſound of Drums and Trumpets, Revelling, and what other Solemnities might teſtifie their joy and triumph. But ſcarce three nights of this vain dream had paſſed, before the Grand Signior awakened by intelligence contrary to what was preſaged and expected, of the defeat of the beſt part of his Army, ſhamefully commanded the Lights to be extinguiſhed; aud the remaining four nights appointed for joy, to be turned to melancholy and darkneſs. And indeed this raſh joy was the more ſhameful and ridiculous, by how much more fatal and deſtructive the loſs was to the *Turks*. For they being now got over the River, and the Chriſtians drawn up in Battalia, a moſt furious Fight began, which from nine a clock in the morning, until four in the afternoon, continued with variable fortune; at length the *Turks* aſſailed by the extraordinary valour of the Chriſtians, which were now of equal number to them, began to give back and put themſelves into a ſhameful flight, leaving dead upon the place about 5000 men, and the glory of the day to the Chriſtians: the Turks who always fly diſorderly, knowing not the art of a handſome retreat, crouded in heaps to paſs the River, the Horſe trampling over the Foot, and the Foot throwing themſelves headlong into the Water, without conſideration of the depth, or choice of places fordable after the great Rains; thoſe ſinking, catching hold of others that could ſwim, ſunk down and periſhed together; others both Men and Horſe through the rapidneſs of the ſtream were carried down the River and ſwallowed up in the deeper places: The water was died with Blood, and the whole face of the River was covered with Men, Horſe, Garments, all ſwimming promiſcuouſly together; no difference was here between the

the valiant and the cowardly, the fooliſh and the wiſe, counſel, and chance, all being involved in the ſame violence of calamity: *Non vox & mutui hortatus juvabant, adverſante unda, nihil ſtrenuus ab ignavo, ſapiens a prudenti, conſilia a caſu differre, cuncta pari violentia involvebantur*; ſo that the waters devoured a far greater number than did the Sword; whilſt the great Viſier ſtanding on the other ſide of the River, was able to afford no kind of help or relief, but as one void of all counſel and reaſon, knew not where to apply a remedy. This defeat, tho in *Chriſtendom* not greatly boaſted, by reaſon that the deſtruction of the *Turks*, which was moſt by water, was partly concealed to them; yet the Turks acknowledg the ruin and ſlaughter to have been of a far greater number than what the Chriſtian Diaries relate, confeſſing that ſince the time that the *Ottoman* Empire arrived at this greatneſs, no ſtories make mention of any ſlaughter or diſgrace it hath ſuffered to be equalled to the calamity and diſhonour of this. On the Turks ſide were ſlain *Iſhmael Paſhaw*, lately of *Buda*, and *Chimacam* of *Conſtantinople*, by a ſhot from the Enemy in his paſſage over the River, the *Spahee lar Agaſee* or General of the *Spahees*, and ſeveral other *Paſhaws* and Perſons of Quality fell that day, 15 pieces of Cannon were taken, with ſome Tents and other rich Spoils: Of the Chriſtians were ſlain near 1000; thoſe of Note were Count of *Naſſau*, Count *Charles* of *Braconſtorf* Captain of the Guards to *Montecuculi*, Count *Fucher* General of the Artillery, with many other Gentlemen of the French Nation, who deſerve ever to be chronicled for their vertue and valour.

The Turks were with this news greatly aſhamed, and dejected, having but two days before demonſtrated exceſſes of joy, congratulated the happy news one to the other, ſending Preſents abroad after their manner, derided the Chriſtians living a-

mongſt them with the news, exprobriated them with a thouſand injuries, applaude d their own vertue and valour, and the righteouſneſs of their Cauſe and Religion. But on a ſudden, intelligence coming contrary to their expectations, ſuch a dampneſs fell upon their ſpirits, that for ſome days there was a deep ſilence of all news at *Conſtantinople*; they that the day before ſought for Chriſtians to communicate to them the Miracles of their Victory, now avoided their company; aſhamed of their too forward joy, and the liberty they had taken to contemn and deride the low condition of the Chriſtian Camp. And now the ill news not being able to be longer concealed, Prayers, and Humiliation were appointed publickly to be made at all the Royal Moſques both at *Conſtantinople* and at *Adrianople*, where all the *Emaums* or Pariſh Prieſts with their young Scholars were commanded to reſort, ſinging ſome doleful Chapter of the *Alchoran*.

The minds of the Soldiery after this defeat were very much diſcompoſed, tending more to Sedition than to obedience, every one took licenſe to ſpeak loudly & openly his opinion, that the War was commenced upon unjuſt & unlawful grounds; that Comets lately ſeen to fall were prodigious foretelling the ill ſucceſs of the War; that the total eclipſe of the Moon, which portends always misfortunes to the Turks, ſhould have cauſed more caution in the Commanders of engaging the Army, until the malignity of that influence had been overpaſſed; and calling to mind the ſolemn Oath with which the Sultan *Solyman* confirmed his Capitulations with the Emperor, particularly vowing never to paſs the *Raab* or Places where the Turks received their defeat, without a ſolid or reaſonable ground of War; all concluded that this Invaſion was a violation of the Vow, and an injury to the ſacred memory of that fortunate

Sultan,

Sultan, and that all endeavours and attempts of this War would be fatal and deſtructive to the *Muſſelmen* or Believers, and the end diſhonourable to the Empire. This opinion was rooted with much firmneſs and ſuperſtition in the mind of the vulgar, and the rumours in the Camp (that the Viſier had been cauſe of the Soldiers flight, by commanding them to retreat after they were engaged, upon a falſe alarm that the Enemy in great numbers were coming to fall on the quarters where the Viſiers perſon remained; and that this error was the firſt original of the ſlaughter that enſued) augmented their diſcontents and animoſities againſt the Government. The Soldiery beſides was greatly terrified and poſſeſſed with the fear of the Chriſtians, and amazed upon every alarm; the *Aſian Spahees* and other Soldiers having Wives and Children, and Poſſeſſions to look after, were grown poor, and deſired nothing more than in peace and quietneſs to return to their home; ſo that nothing could come more grateful to this Camp, no largeſſes nor hopes could pacifie the minds of the Soldiery more than the promiſes and expectations of Peace. And this was the true cauſe that brought on the Treaty of Peace between the Emperor and the Turk in ſuch an inſtant, contrary to the opinion of moſt in the World; and gave occaſion to the Viſier to embrace the Propoſitions offered by the *Rheningen*, then Reſident for the Emperor (who was carried about according to the motions of the Turkiſh Camp, to be ready to improve any Overtures of Peace that might be offered); the Viſier to ſhew his real intentions, flattered and careſſed this Reſident with the Preſent of a Horſe richly furniſhed, a Veſt of Sables, and a commodious Tent, whilſt the Propoſitions and Condeſcentions on the Turkiſh part were diſpeeded to *Vienna*; which were returned again with an entire

aſſent to moſt of the Articles; and thoſe wherein there might be any difference, were to be referred until the arrival of the Extraordinary Embaſſador, who was ſuppoſed might reach the *Ottoman* Court by the end of *April*. The *Aſian Spahees* were overjoyed at the news hereof, and immediately obtained licenſe to depart, and moſt of the Militia was diſperſed, every one with joy betaking himſelf to his own home. But this Embaſſador miſſing of his time allotted for his arrival, above a month later than he was expected put all things into a ſtrange combuſtion. I was then in the Camp when it was whiſpered, that the Treaty was at an end, that the Chriſtians had deluded them, and cauſed them to disband their Army, that ſo they might fall upon them with the greater advantage; the misfortune of which (according to the cuſtom of the Commonalty) was charged on the heads of the Governors; and the too much credulity of the Viſier. But at length on the 28 of *May* 1665. news coming that the Embaſſador from the Emperor was arrived at *Buda*; the Viſier the next day departed from *Belgrade* with his whole Army, which I accompanied as far as *Niſſa* about nine days march towards *Adrianople*: and there having put an end to my buſineſs, and wearied with the ſlow pace, and heats, and other inconveniences of an Army, I took my leave of the great Viſier, and proceeded further by longer journies to attend the Court at *Adrianople*: and that I may give my Reader an account of theſe Countries, and the nature of the people that inhabit them, I hope it will not be judged much beſides my purpoſe if I entertain him a little with a Relation of ſome part of my Journey to *Belgrade*.

On the 29th of *April* 1665. I departed from *Adrianople* towards *Belgrade*; and on the firſt of *May* I lodged at a Village called *Semeſge*, the firſt Town

I came to, inhabited by *Bulgarians* who are Chriſtians, that day being a Feſtival: the Women upon the arrival of Gueſts came running from their houſes with Cakes of dough-baked bread which they called *Togatch*, only laid upon the Coals between two Tiles, which they ſoon kneaded and prepared for the ſtomachs of Travellers; others brought Milk, Eggs, and Wine to ſell, and what elſe their homely Cottages afforded. which they preſſed on us with much importunity, the younger and handſomer challenging a priority in the ſale of their Proviſions before thoſe who were ancient and more homely: TheſeCountry Laſſes had that day put on their holy Garments, which put me in mind of thoſe dreſſes I have ſeen in Pictures of the ancient Shepherdeſſes in *Arcadia*, being a looſe Gown of various colours with hanging Sleeves; their Arms had no Sleeve but that of their Smock, which though it were of Canvas or ſome very coarſeLinnen, was yet wrought with many various works of divers colours; their hair was braided, hanging down at length behind, which ſome had adorned with little ſhells found upon the Sea ſhoar, tied at the end with fringes of Silk, bobs, and taſſels of Silver; their heads were covered with pieces of Silver Coin of different ſorts ſtrung upon thread, and their Breaſts were in the ſame manner decked; thoſe being moſt honoured, and eſteemed moſt rich, who were beſt adorned with theſe Strings of Coin, and Bracelets on their Wriſts, with which every one, according to her ability, had dreſſed and made her ſelf fine. Amongſt theſe we paſſed with plenty of Proviſion, and a hearty welcome; for theſe people called *Bulgarians* inhabit all that Country to the Confines of *Hungary*; they Till all that ground, Paſture vaſt numbers of Cattel, and are induſtrious and able Husbandmen, by which means, and the liberty they enjoy by the ſmall num-

ber of Turks which live amongſt them, they paſs their time with ſome reaſonable comfort, and are more commodious in Wealth than they ſuffer to appear outwardly to the envious eyes of the Turks. Their Language is the old *Illyrian* or *Sclavonian* Tongue, which hath much ſimilitude with the *Ruſſians*; becauſe this people is ſaid to come originally from beyond the River *Volga*, and ſo by corruption are called *Bulgarians* or *Volgarians*. On the third of *May* we arrived at *Philippolis*, where we were civilly entertained at the Houſe or Monaſtery of the Metropolite, or Greek Biſhop of that place. By this City runs the River *Hebrus*, having its original from the Mountains *Rhodope*, in ſight of which we travelled towards *Sophia*, of which *Ovid* thus ſpeaks,

Qua patet umbroſum Rhodope *glacialis ad* Hæmum,
Et ſacer amiſſas exigit Hebrus *aquas.*

The City of *Philippolis* is ſituate in a large and open Plain, and level, whereon are great numbers of little round Hills, which the Inhabitants will have to be the Graves of the *Roman* Legions ſlain in thoſe Fields. A certain *Greek* had once the melancholy dream of much Treaſure buried in one of theſe Hills; and this fanſie ſo often troubled him in his ſleep, that it took a ſtrong impreſſion in his mind whilſt he was waking, and ſo far troubled him, that he could take no reſt nor contentment until he had eaſed his mind to the *Naſir-Aga*, who is he who overſees the Water works, and places of Pleaſure belonging to the Grand Signior in that Country. The Turk, tho he had a great mind to the Treaſure, durſt not yet open the ground, until he had acquainted the Grand Signior with the mind of the *Greek*, who upon the firſt intimation diſpatched away

away Officers (ſo apt the Turks are in matters of Profit to catch even at a ſhadow) to open this Hill; to which work the Country Villages were ſummoned, and whilſt they digged very deep, not well underſtanding the manner and art of Mining, the Earth broke from the top, and buried ſeventy perſons in the ruins; and ſo the work ended, and the Greek awaked from his dream. This Town hath one part of it built on the ſide of a little Hill; two others are alſo near it, which appear like Bulwarks or Fortifications on that ſide the City; all the reſt of the Country thereabouts being a dead Plain or Level. At this place remains no other Antiquity beſides the ruins of two ancient Chappels, built of Brick, in the form of a Croſs, one of which the Greeks hold in great devotion, and report to be the place wherein St. *Paul* preached often to the *Philippians*; and with that opinion they often reſort thither, eſpecially on the Days of Devotion, to ſay their Prayers: The Walls of the City are likewiſe very ancient, over the Gates of which is writ ſomething in the Greek Character; but Time hath ſo defaced it, that to me it ſeemed no longer legible; And ſo ignorant are the Greeks alſo, even ſuch as were born in that City, and are Prieſts and Colories (which are the ſtricteſt ſort of Religious Men amongſt them) who have nothing more to do than to attend to their Office and Studies, that they cannot give any reaſonable account of the original of that City, who it was built by, or any thing elſe of the Hiſtory of it, and with much admiration they hearken to us, when we tell them any thing what our Books relate concerning it.

From hence I departed towards *Sophia*, paſſing in this Journy the *Montes Hæmi*, called by the Turks *Capi Dervent*, which is as much as the Gate of the narrow way; the aſcent hereunto is rugged and ſharp, com-

commodious for Robbers, who there have ſuch Caves and places of refuge, that they defie very conſiderable Forces that are ſent againſt them. On the top of this Hill is a Village of *Bulgarians*, where the Women uſed to the diverſity of Travellers, are become free in their diſcourſe, and only entertain ſtrangers, whilſt their Husbands are in the Field, or with their Cattel, or fly away for fear of ſome injury from the Turks. Deſcending hence is a very narrow incloſure, on both ſides being environed with high Mountains and Woods, which is a ſhady and melancholy Journey for the ſpace of two hours; to this place the *Heydouts*, or *Heyducks* (as that people call them) frequently reſort in great numbers out of *Tranſilvania*, *Moldavia*, *Hungary*, and other parts, which taking advantage of theſe cloſe Woods, diſcharge Vollies of Shot on the ſtrongeſt Caravans, and rolling Stones from the Mountains in the narroweſt paſſages, do as much execution as with Canon; for, as I have underſtood, in one of thoſe *Dervents* (for there are many of this nature in the Journey to *Belgrade*) 18 Thieves only killed above 300 Merchants, who for ſecurity united together, and their whole Baggage and Goods became a prey to the Robbers. In theſe places, thus fortified by Nature, the Inhabitants reſiſted the force of the Grecian Emperors, and killed *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders* after he had ſubjected the City of *Conſtantinople*. Amongſt theſe *Bulgarians* is a ſort of people which they call *Paulines*, who had in former times ſtrange confuſed notions of Chriſtianity, pretending to follow the Doctrine of St. *Paul*, uſed Fire in the Sacrament of Baptiſm, and preferred this Apoſtle before his Maſter Chriſt: but there being ſome Roman Prieſts in thoſe parts, that obſerving the ignorance of theſe poor people, and their willingneſs to be inſtructed, took the advantage, and reduced them all to the Roman Faith,

to

to which now they are ſtrict and ſuperſtitious adherers.

Through thoſe narrow *Dervents* before ſpoken of, we arrived after three days of weary Journey at *Sophia*, a place ſo wholly Turkiſh, that there is nothing in it that appears more antique than the Turks themſelves; it is ſituated in a pleaſant Plain or broad Valley, between two high Mountains, the higheſt of them wearing a ſnowy head in the heat of the Summer Solſtice, which is the reaſon that that City is cool and wholſome, but of a ſubtile penetrating air, being ſupplied with admirable waters of eaſie digeſtion, which come pouring down in great abundance from the Mountains, and ſupply the Town with plentiful ſtreams in all parts of it, and are ſaid to be waters of thoſe Fountains which *Orpheus* delighted in. There are beſides theſe cool Waters, certain Baths naturally hot, to which the Turks reſort very frequently, being of the ſame nature and vertue with ours in *England*. From this place we made nine long days journey to *Belgrade*, in which paſſage there is nothing more memorable than the deſolation of the Country; and being there arrived, we pitched our Tent in the Camp, where after ſix days we marched back with the Army, to whom nothing could come more joyful than their return home, and the concluſion of the War; by which may be obſerved in ſome manner, how far the nature of the Turks is degenerated from the ancient warlike diſpoſition of the Saracens.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Turks Armata, *or* Naval Forces.

HAving particularly run over the Force of this formidable Enemy and ſcourge of Chriſtianity by Land, we are now to take a view according to the true method of this Diſcourſe, of the ſtrength of their Fleets and Maritime Forces; which though to a nation ſituated on the Continent, are not ſo neceſſary or prevalent to defend themſelves from their Neighbours, or tranſport their Power and Conqueſts into other Dominions, as they are to a People whoſe Habitation is encompaſſed by the Sea; yet certainly a Prince can never be ſaid to be truly Puiſſant, who is not Maſter in both Elements; for not to expatiate on the common Theme of the Riches and Power which ariſe from Navigation, it is ſufficient, conſidering how often the mighty force of the *Ottoman* Empire hath been foiled and baffled by the ſmall Republique of *Venice*, for want of true knowledg or ſucceſs, or application of their minds to Maritime Exerciſe, to demonſtrate of what efficacy in moſt deſigns is a well provided and regulated Fleet.

The Turks are now very much weakned in their Naval Forces ſince the War againſt *Candy*, and are ſo diſcouraged in their hopes of ſucceſs at Sea, that Ships and Galeaſſes, called by them *Mahumes*, are wholly in diſuſe amongſt them; whether it be that they want able Seamen to govern them, or that they deſpair of being able to meet the *Venetians* in open Sea (for which thoſe Veſſels of Battery are only in uſe) they are fallen into a fancy of light Gallies, a ſign that they intend to truſt more of their

their ſafety to their Oars than their Arms; of which in the year 1661. (after the loſs of 28 well-provided Gallies wreck'd with their Men in the Black Sea) the Viſier *Kuperlee* built thirty others for reparation of that loſs, but of that green and unſeaſoned Timber, that the firſt Voyage many of them became unſerviceable for the Leaks; and the reſt, at the return of the Fleet in the month of *October* following, were laid up amongſt the old and worn Veſſels.

It may ſeem a difficult matter to aſſign the true reaſon why and by what weans the Turks come to be ſo decayed in their Naval Forces, who abound with ſo many conveniences for it, and with all ſorts of materials fit for Navigation, as Cordage, Pitch, Tar, and Timber, which ariſe and grow in their own Dominions, and are eaſily brought to the Imperial City with little or no danger of their Enemies. For Timber, the vaſt Woods along the Coaſt of the Black Sea, and parts of *Aſia*, at the bottom of the Gulph of *Nicomedia*, ſupply them: Pitch, Tar, and Tallow are brought to them from *Albania* and *Walachia*; Canvas and Hemp from *Grand Cairo*; and Biſquet is in plenty in all parts of the Turks Dominions. Their Ports are ſeveral of them convenient for building both Ships and Gallies; the Arſenal at *Conſtantinople* hath no leſs than One hundred thirty ſeven *Voltas*, or Chambers for Building, and ſo many Veſſels may be upon the Stocks at the ſame time. At *Sinopolis* near *Trapeſond* is another Arſenal: at *Midia* and *Anchiale*, Cities on the Black Sea, are the like; and many parts of the *Propontis*, the *Helleſpont*, and the *Boſphorus*, are ſuch Ports and Conveniences for Shipping, at if all things had conſpired to render *Conſtantinople* happy, and not only capable of being Miſtreſs of the Earth, but formidable in all parts of the Ocean: and yet the Turk for ſeveral years, eſpecially ſince the War with *Candia*, and their defeats at

at Sea have not been able at moſt to Equippe a Fleet of above 100 Sail of Gallies, of which 14 are maintained and provided at the charge of the *Beyes* of the *Archipelago*, for which they have certain Iſles in that Sea aſſigned them.

The Turks do neither want Slaves to bogue at the Oars of the Gallies; for *Tartary* ſupplies them with great numbers; beſides, divers perſons in *Conſtantinople* make it a Trade to hire out their Slaves for the Summers Voyage for 6000 Aſpers, running the hazard of the Slaves life, who returning home ſafe, is conſigned to the poſſeſſion of his Patron: and if want ſtill be of the *Chiurma*, as the Turks call it, or Slaves for the Oar, a collection is made in ſeveral Provinces of the luſtieſt and ſtouteſt Clowns, called by the Turks *Azabs*, but by the other Slaves *Chakal*; theſe are choſen out of certain Villages, one being elected out of every 20 houſes, the hire of which is 6000 Aſpers, for payment whereof the other 19 Families make a proportionable Contribution; upon receipt of their Pay they give in ſecurity not to fly, but to ſerve faithfully for that years Expedition: But theſe Men unuſed to the ſervice of the Sea, unskilful at the Oar, and Sea-ſick, are of little validity; and the ſucceſs of their Voyage may be compared to that in the Fable of the Shepherd, who ſold his Poſſeſſions on the Land to buy Merchandiſe for Sea-negotiations. The Soldiers which are deſtin'd to Sea ſervice are called *Levents*, who come voluntarily and enter themſelves in the Regiſters of the Arſenal, obliging themſelves to ſerve that Summers Expedition for 6000 Aſpers, and Biſquet for the Voyage; the ſtouteſt and moſt reſolute of theſe fellows are thoſe called *Cazdaglu*, who are a certain ſort of Mountainers in the Country of *Anatolia*, near *Troy*, whoſe Country I once paſſed through, with ſome apprehenſion, and more than ordinary vigilance

vigilance and caution to preſerve my life; for being all Robbers and Free booters, we admitted no Treaties or Diſcourſes with them but with our Arms in our hands. Others there are alſo obliged to Sea-ſervice, who are *Zaims* and *Timariots*, and hold their Lands in Sea-Tenour; but being not bound to go in perſon themſelves, they bring or ſend their Servants (called in Turkiſh *Bedel*) to ſupply their place, every one providing one, two, or more, according to the value of his Lands, as we have before declared in the Chapter of the *Zaims* and *Timariots*. Some *Janizaries* are alſo drawn out for Sea-ſervice, and ſome *Spahees* of the four inferior Banners, and not to make too bold with the Veterane Soldiers, command only ſuch to Sea as are new and green Soldiers, lately regiſtred in the Rolls of the *Spahees*.

The Auxiliaries of the Turks Forces by Sea, are the Pyrates of *Barbari*, from thoſe three Towns of *Tripoli*, *Tunis*, and *Algier*; but theſe of late years have diſuſed the cuſtom of coming into the Turks aſſiſtance; yet oftentimes they ply towards the *Archipelago*, and to the *Levant*, but it is to ſupply themſelves with Soldiers, and recruits of people for encreaſe of their Colonies.

The other part of Auxiliary Forces is from the *Beyes* of *Archipelago*; being 14 in number, every one of which commands a Gally, and for their maintenance have the Contribution of certain Iſlands in that Sea allotted to them; the which are better manned and armed than theſe of *Conſtantinople*, but theſe neither, are not willing too much to expoſe their Veſſels to fight or danger, in regard that being built and maintained at their own charges, and their whole ſubſtance, they are the more cautious how they venture all their Fortune in the ſucceſs of a Battel: Theſe *Beyes* alſo give themſelves up much

to

to their delights and pleaſure, and employ more thoughts how to pleaſe their Appetites, than to acquire glory and fame by the War; what they gain in Summer, when joined with the groſs of the Turkiſh Fleet, is the Prize of the Grand Signior; but what chance throws upon them in the Winter, is their own proper and peculiar Fortune.

The Gunners of the Turkiſh Fleet are wholly ignorant of that Art, for any perſon who is either Engliſh, French, Dutch, or any other Chriſtian Nation, they deſign to this Office, whether he be skilful or unskilful in the management of Artillery; having an opinion that thoſe people are naturally addicted to a certain proneneſs and aptitude in Gunnery; in which they find their error as often as they come to skirmiſh with their Enemy.

The chief Admiral or Generaliſſimo of the Turkiſh *Armata*, is called the *Captain Paſhaw*; his Lieutenant-General is called *Terſhana Kiahiaſi*; the next Officer is *Terſane Emini*, or Steward of the Arſenal, who hath the care of providing all neceſſaries for the Navy; but this place being bought, as almoſt all other Offices, occaſions a neceſſity in theſe perſons to rob Mails, Anchors, Cables, and other Proviſions of the Fleet to ſatisfie the Debts they contracted for the Purchaſe of their Places: In the like manner doth every *Reis* or Captain of a Gally keep his hand in exerciſe as often as convenience offers; theſe are all for the moſt part Italian Renegadoes, or the Race of them born and educated near the *Arſenal.* The Officers command their *Chiurme* or Slaves in corrupted Italian, which they call *Franke*; and afford them a better allowance of Bisket than is given to the Slaves in the Venetian *Armata.*

The Turks now deſpairing of being equal to the Chriſtian Forces by Sea, and to be able to ſtand with them the ſhock of a Battel, build light Veſſels for

for robbing, burning, and deſtroying the Chriſtian Coaſt, and afterwards to ſecure themſelves by flight, and alſo to tranſport Soldiers, Ammunition, and Proviſions, for ſuccor of *Candia*, and other places of their new Conqueſts near the Sea-ſhoar.

The Arſenal at *Venice* is ſo greatly eſteemed by the Turks, that they ſeem not to deſire the conqueſt of that place for any other reaſon more than the benefit of the Arſenal; as a perſon of great quality amongſt them ſaid once, that had they made a Conqueſt of *Venice*, they would not inhabit there, but leave it to the Venetians, in regard that the City affords not freſh water, which is neceſſary for the uſe of their Moſques, and their Waſhing before Prayer; but that the *Arſenal*, and a Tribute would ſatisfie the deſires of the Grand Signiour.

But the *Turks* are not likely to be Maſters of this Seat of *Neptune*, whilſt they ſo unwillingly apply their minds to Maritime Affairs, who being conſcious of their former ill ſucceſs at Sea, and how little uſe they make of thoſe advantages they have for ſhipping, acknowledg their Inabilities in Sea Affairs, and ſay, *That Gad hath given the Sea to the Chriſtians, but the Land to them.* And no doubt but the large Poſſeſſions and Riches they enjoy on the ſtaple Element of the Earth, is that which takes off their minds the deep attention to matters of the Sea, which is almoſt ſolely managed by Renegadoes amongſt them, who have abandoned their Faith and their Country. And it is happy for Chriſtendom that this faintneſs remains on the Spirits of the Turks, an averſion from all Naval Employment, whoſe numbers and power the *Great God of Hoſts* hath reſtrained by the bounds of the Ocean, as he hath limited the Ocean by the Sands of the Sea-ſhoar.

THE

The Concluſion.

BY the Diſcourſe made in the three foregoing Books, it will evidently appear what ſort of Government is exerciſed amongſt the *Turks*, what their Religion is, and how formidable their Force; which ought to make the Chriſtian World tremble to ſee ſo great a part of it ſubjected to the Mahometan Power, and yet no Mean thought of to unite our Intereſts, and compoſe our Diſſentions, which lay us open to the inundation of this flowing Empire: To which I ſhall add this one thing very obſervable, That the Grand Signior wages his War by Land without any charge to himſelf, an advantage not to be parallel'd by the Policy of any Government I ever heard or read of before; for his *Spahees* and *Janizaries* are always in Pay, both in War and Peace; his *Zaims* and *Timariots* have their Lands to maintain them; and other Militia's enjoy the fixed Revenue from their reſpective Countries: and yet notwithſtanding through the expence of the Naval Forces, the building Gallies, and the like, matters not provided for thoſe who laid the firſt foundation of this Government, the Revenue of the Empire hath been bankrupted, and by the corruption of the Officers, or ill management, been ſold for 3 years to come, until all was redeemed and reſtored again by the wiſdom of that famous Viſier *Kupriuli*, whom we have occaſion ſo often to mention in the foregoing Treatiſe.

We cannot now but pity thoſe poor Borderers in *Hun-*

Hungary, *Styria*, *Croatia*, and other parts ſubject to the Incurſions of this cruel Enemy, ſince we know that in the laſt War not three Engliſh miles from *Vienna*, many poor people have been ſurprized and fallen into the hands of the Tartar and Turk, and ſold afterwards into perpetual ſlavery; this conſideration ought to move us, who are barricado'd and fortifi'd by the Seas from the violence of our Enemies, to bleſs God we are born in ſo happy and ſo ſecure a Country, ſubject to no dangers but from our ſelves, nor other miſeries but what ariſe from our own freedom and too much felicity; we ought to conſider it is a bleſſing, that we never have felt any ſmart of the rod of this great Oppreſſor of Chriſtianity, and yet have taſted of the good and benefit which hath proceeded from a free and open Trade, and amicable Correſpondence and Friendſhip with this People; which have been maintained for the ſpace of above eighty years, begun in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* of bleſſed memory, preſerved by the Prudence and admirable Diſcretion of a ſeries of worthy Embaſſadors, and daily emproved both in buſineſs and reputation by the excellent Conduct and Direction of that Right Worſhipful Company of the *Levant* Merchants, hath brought a moſt conſiderable benefit to this Kingdom, and gives employment and livelihood to many thouſands of people in *England*; by which alſo His Majeſty without any expence, gains a very conſiderable increaſe of His Cuſtoms.

The ſence of this benefit and advantage to my own Country, without any private conſiderations, I have as a Servant to that Embaſſie, or the obligations I have to that worthy Company, cauſe me to move with the greateſt ſedulity and devotion poſſible to promote and advance the Intereſt of that Trade: And as ſome ſtudy ſeveral ways, and preſcribe Rules by which a War may be moſt advantagiouſly

managed againſt the Turk; I, on the contrary, am more inclinable to give my judgment in what manner our Peace and Trade may beſt be ſecured and maintained; knowing that ſo conſiderable a welfare of our Nation depends upon it, that a few years of Trades interruption in *Turkey* will make all ſorts of people ſenſible of the want of ſo great a vent of the commodities of our Country. And therefore as I am obliged to pray for the glory and proſperity of His Majeſty our gracious Sovereign: ſo likewiſe, as that which conduces to it, for the continuance of the Honour of this Embaſſie in *Turkey*, and the profitable returns of the *Levant* Company.

FINIS.

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